

From Ghent to Aix

# Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 36

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## The Handpress World

VOLUME 27

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# From Ghent to Aix

*How They Brought the News in the Habsburg  
Netherlands, 1550–1700*

*By*

Paul Arblaster



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Cover illustration: An image of a failed surprise attack on Antwerp, 1624.  
*Oprechte afbeeldinge vanden gefaelgeerden Aenslach* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1624).  
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*Dedicated to Joël Schuyser, in friendship*



Van de Vriendtschap ghevoelen alle menschen eenderley, te weten, die in't aensien der Overheydt en regieringe ghestelt zijn, en die hare lust soecken in kennisse ende wetenschap van vele dinghen, als oock die, die in stilligheydt haer eygen saecken beschicken, ende eyndtlijck die oock, die haer t'eenemael tot de wellusten hebben overgegeven, meenen al te samen dat sonder vriendtschap 't leven niets te beduyden heeft, wanneerse maer eenighsins heerlijk leven willen.

CICERO, *Laelius*,

translated by Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert



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'Dat de boecken vrij sullen wesen: Private profit, public utility and secrets of state in the seventeenth-century Habsburg Netherlands', in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, edited by Joop W. Koopmans (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 13; Leuven, Peeters, 2005), pp. 79–95. Copyright © 2005

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It is at the urging of Noel Malcolm, Andrew Pettegree, and above all Joël Schuyter that I offer to public view a fuller treatment in more comprehensive form. Even such urging might not have overcome my diffidence had it not been for the experience, in 2011–2013, of participation in an international scholarly network funded by the Leverhulme Trust which opened my eyes to just how useful this book might be to scholars and researchers across Europe and in parts of the New World. In this regard I owe particular thanks to Joad Raymond, Noah Moxham, Lizzy Williamson, Andre Belo, Carmen Espejo and by no means least Mario Infelise.

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# Abbreviations

## Libraries, Archives, Collections

AAM	Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief, Mechelen
ARB	Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels
GRSP	Geheime Raad, Spaanse Periode
OFRB	Officie Fiscal van de Raad van Brabant
RS	Raad van State
SSO	Secretaris van Staat en Oorlog
ASKA	Academie van Schone Kunsten, Antwerp
ASR	Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam
BLL	British Library, London
BMB	Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon
BMP	Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSM	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
KBB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels
KBH	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
KBS	Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
MPM	Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RBV	Reichsbibliothek, Vienna
SAA	Stadsarchief, Antwerp
GA	Gilden & Ambachten
Pk	Privilegiekamer
SBA	Stadsbibliotheek (Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience), Antwerp
SBB	Stadsbibliotheek, Bruges
SHD	Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden
UBG	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent
ZBM	Zeeuwse Bibliotheek, Middelburg
ZBZ	Zentralbibliothek, Zürich

## Journals, Newspapers and Series

AAB	<i>Avisen auß Berlin</i>
-----	--------------------------

<i>BMGN</i>	<i>Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i>
<i>BTFG</i>	<i>Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biographie nationale</i> (44 vols, Brussels, 1866–1986)
Bogel & Blühm	Else Bogel & Elger Blühm, <i>Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Ein Bestandsverzeichnis mit historischen und bibliographischen Angaben</i> (3 vols, Bremen, 1971).
<i>CCE</i>	<i>Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle</i> , ed. Henri Lonchay, Joseph Cuvelier & Joseph Lefèvre (6 vols, Brussels, 1923–1937)
<i>CID</i>	<i>Courant uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, etc.</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>CRS</i>	Catholic Record Society Publications, Records Series
<i>CSP Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
<i>EAD</i>	<i>Extraordinaire Advijzen op Donderdag</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>EPT</i>	<i>Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghen</i> (Antwerp)
<i>ESDB</i>	<i>Eigen Schoon en De Brabander</i>
<i>Milano</i>	<i>Gazzetta di Milano</i>
<i>NAGN</i>	[ <i>Nieuw</i> ] <i>Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</i>
<i>NBW</i>	<i>Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek</i> (15 vols, Brussels, 1964–1996)
<i>NO</i>	<i>Nouvelles ordinaires and Gazette</i> (Paris)
<i>NT</i>	<i>Nieuwe Tijdinghen</i> (Antwerp)
<i>NTVG</i>	<i>Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyde gewesten</i> (Bruges)
<i>NUZ</i>	<i>Neue Unpartheysche Zeittung</i> (Zürich)
<i>PO</i>	<i>Postillion ordinaire</i> (Antwerp)
<i>RFGH</i>	<i>Relation aller Fürnemen und Gedenckwürdigen Historien</i> (Strasbourg)
<i>ROPB</i>	<i>Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas</i>
Rouzet	Anne Rouzet, <i>Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et editeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle</i> (Nieuwkoop, 1975)
<i>RV</i>	<i>Relations véritables</i> (Brussels)
<i>TVQ</i>	<i>Tydingen uyt verscheyden Quartieren</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>WN</i>	<i>Weekly Newes</i> (London)
<i>WOPZ</i>	<i>Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen</i> (Luzern?)
<i>WT</i>	<i>Wekelijcke Tijdinghen</i> (Antwerp)
<i>WZF</i>	<i>Wochentliche Zeitung</i> (Frankfurt)
<i>WZL</i>	<i>Wöchentliche Zeitung</i> (Leipzig)
<i>WZMO</i>	<i>Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther</i> (Hamburg)

## Addenda

The *Avvissi da Bruxelles* mentioned in footnote 57 on page 50 were transferred from the Austrian National Library to the Venetian Archives as war reparations after the First World War, and thanks to Mario Infelise their location is no longer a mystery. However, the present writer has not yet had an opportunity to consult them in the detail that a discussion of their contents would require.

Studies of sixteenth-century atrocity literature, mentioned on pages 57–58, can now be extended with Nina Lamal, 'De belichaming van christelijke liefde: Gevoelens en lichamelijkeheid in zestiende-eeuwse franciscaanse martelaarsverhalen', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126:4 (2013), pp. 500–515.

The remarks on Roman *gazette* on page 205 are based on a misreading of Ugo Bellocchi's work. In fact the *Gazzetta ordinaria*, and the *Gazzetta pubblica* would seem to be different names for the same publication.

# Introduction

On Thursday 19 February 1620 the first Flemish newspaper was offered for sale in Abraham Verhoeven's Antwerp printing shop, the Golden Sun.<sup>1</sup> For a stiver the purchaser could own an eight-page booklet containing news recently received from Vienna, Prague, Rome and Cracow, decorated on the front page with a composite woodcut showing various military activities. It may have been printed that day, in the half-dark of a February morning, or it may have been printed the day before, with the typesetting done over several previous days, from newsletters received in the course of the week. Work in the shop would have started around six in the morning, and a first run would no doubt have been ready for sale by eleven o'clock, when the civil court adjourned and trading began on the New Exchange.<sup>2</sup> The Friday and the Saturday were both market days in Antwerp, bringing inhabitants out into the winter squares and streets, peasants up from the surrounding countryside, and traders from other towns, adding to the bustle of a busy city and to the already substantial demand for news.<sup>3</sup>

The Golden Sun, in small rented premises, was not an imposing establishment such as the palatial Plantin printing office on the Friday Market at the far end of Lombard Street, nor even a solidly established business such as those of the Verdussen or Trognésius families, specialized in devotional and educational books. It stood in a part of town characterized by pawnbrokers, second-hand dealers, and small businesses in the book and art trades. Two small windows and a low door looked out onto the Lombardenvest from a narrow, north-facing shop displaying Verhoeven's merchandise: engravings, woodcuts, broadsheets, pamphlets, almanacs, calendars, prayer cards, and playing cards.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Copies of this first issue are to be found in Antwerp's city library, now known as the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, and in the British Library.

2 Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London & New York, 1976), p. 131; Jan Materné, “Schoon ende bequaem tot versamelinghe der coopliden”: Antwerpens beurswereld tijdens de gouden zestiende eeuw, in Geert De Clercq (ed.), *Ter Beurze: Geschiedenis van de aandelenhandel in België, 1300–1990* (Bruges & Antwerp, 1992), p. 73; Jan van Acker, ‘Het Stadsbestuur van 1585 tot 1713’, in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw* (Antwerp, 1989), p. 10.

3 R. Baetens, ‘Lokale markten te Antwerpen (16e–18e eeuw)’, in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, p. 182.

4 The building, condemned in 1902, is described in F.J. Van den Branden, *Ontstaan van het nieuwsblad te Antwerpen: Abraham Verhoeven, zijn leven, 1575–1652* (Antwerp, 1902), pp. 43–44.

Behind the shop was the workshop, facing south but with a small back door and a low beam that even at noon kept the room in shadow. In the workshop were a printing press, a specialist prints press, boxes of lead type with all the equipment of the compositor and pressman, engraved copper plates, blocks for woodcuts and decorations, and cords on which to hang the printed sheets to dry. Above the shop was a parlour, above the workshop a bedroom, and at the top of the house a loft with four skylights. An image of the sun in splendour was affixed to the gable, identifying the house as the Golden Sun, while a municipal byelaw required that the sign of a book or a printing press hang above the door to identify the occupant's trade.

The master of the house was a forty-five year-old printer, an impulsive man with a record of bad debts and breaches of the peace, the mistress a wife nine years his junior, spendthrift and unfaithful. She minded the shop and he ran the workshop.<sup>5</sup> The number of men employed on the premises is unknown, but cannot have been large. An average establishment, from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, employed four journeymen (two compositors and two pressmen) and an apprentice. It was, however, possible to get by with fewer by doubling jobs, especially if the master took a hand himself and had his children help.<sup>6</sup> At one time Verhoeven certainly had a printer's mate, Jan Lambrechts, a journeyman printer probably paid by the month, and if the two of them stuck to the more prestigious tasks, they would need two pressmen for the less skilled labour. They could then be getting one edition ready for the press while the previous was being printed. It is, though, possible that Verhoeven had the help of an editor-translator, was himself compositor, and Lambrechts and another pulled the press.

For his initial business in prints and prayer cards Verhoeven worked, at least some of the time, with three journeymen: the printer Jan Lambrechts, the engraver Melchior Ykens and the illuminator Adrian Ketels.<sup>7</sup> In these early years, extra hands could be taken on piece-rate according to the pressure of work, but the regular pace of newspaper publishing probably necessitated more permanent employment arrangements, even if it was just to have one or two pressmen in from Wednesday to Friday, when the bulk of the printing was

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5 After his wife's death, Verhoeven sought the permission of the magistrates to remarry (permission that was necessary for legal arrangements to safeguard the inheritance of the first wife's children) on the grounds that he now had nobody to mind the shop (Van den Branden, p. 64).

6 Febvre & Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131.

7 These three he called as witnesses in his suit against Denis Belval, the Douai carrier, concerning a lost shipment; see Alphonse Goovaerts, *Abraham Verhoeven* (Antwerp, 1881), pp. 52–56.



done. By 1620 Verhoeven's oldest boy, Abraham, was fifteen and his second son, Isaac, was thirteen, both old enough to help around the workshop and the shop. Both were brought up to their father's trade, Abraham junior as an engraver and Isaac as a printer, and there is no record of them serving apprenticeships elsewhere, so their presence in the workplace is likely. Although Verhoeven's was an enterprise with news supplies from all over Europe, conveying information on a truly global scale, and his products were distributed as far away as London, Frankfurt, Rome and Seville, the printing establishment itself was still a small family business, and even the supply of news relied as much on a network of local contacts as on direct receipt of foreign correspondence. Powerful local connections had also been needed to obtain the exclusive licence, known as an 'octrooi', which not only gave permission to print but also a monopoly on printed news. Such an octrooi, for publication in Brabant, Limburg and the lands over the Maas, was issued by the Council of Brabant on 28 January 1620; by the Privy Council, for the rest of the Habsburg Netherlands, not until 6 March.

The first edition of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, emerging into the half-darkness of a February morning, was not only the first newspaper of the Southern Netherlands, it was in many ways unusual as a newspaper. The format, an eight-page booklet with headlines and an illustrative woodcut on the title page, was closer to the news pamphlet than to other newspapers of the time, which were typically a half-folio or small folio sheet or a four-page booklet, printed closely to save paper. Within a year the London corantos, which had been slavish copies of the Amsterdam newssheets, had adopted Verhoeven's 'newsbook' format, and it was to be the format chosen by Théophraste Renaudot for the Parisian *Nouvelles ordinaires* (or *Gazette*) first published in 1631. With a woodcut under the headline on every front page, it was the first illustrated newspaper ever to be published, and Verhoeven, or his editor, pioneered a new style in print journalism, which was itself barely out of its first decade. The style of the writing, as much as the visual style, was more catching and polemical than was usual in other newspapers. The series, which ran for nine years, has come to be called the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* ('new tidings'), although it had no fixed title and may have been known to contemporaries as the 'Antwerp Gazette', the name under which it is still catalogued in the British Library.

Innovative as it was for a newspaper, individual issues differed little, in form or content, from the news pamphlets that Verhoeven had been printing for over a decade. Infrequent news pamphlets bearing his address survive from as early as 1608, and in 1616 he was described as 'news printer' in the record of the payment of his annual guild fees, attesting that this was the most distinctive aspect of his business. By 1619 he was printing news reports at a rate varying

from monthly to weekly. There was no formal difference between the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* of 19 February 1620 and a booklet entitled *Nieuwe Tijdinge van Hungharijen, Polen, ende Duytslandt*, published a month earlier. Both had a front-page headline, a woodcut, the publisher's address, and both contained an assortment of news reports, primarily from Central Europe. Both were a single sheet of paper, folded twice to produce an eight-page booklet, and at the bottom of the recto (right-hand) pages there was a series of letters and lower-case Roman numerals: 'A', 'Ai', 'Aii', 'Aiii'. This code, called a 'signature', was common on handpress publications and was intended to tell the binder or purchaser what order the sheet should be folded and bound in. The difference between the two newsbooks was what happened next. The later issue was followed, the next week, by two more booklets, one with the signature 'B' and the other with the signature 'C'. This indicated that the booklets should be bound together in a particular order. Without (in so far as we can tell) trumpeting the fact in any way, Abraham Verhoeven had turned his news pamphlets into something slightly different: an on-going project, each issue part of a set that would only be complete at the end of the year. A collection of occasional news pamphlets had become a single serial publication.

In some ways this distinction is, quite literally, academic. Some modern scholars have been much concerned to clarify exactly what can and what cannot be classified as a newspaper—a single series with a single catalogue entry—and a number of overlapping definitions have been put forward. The word 'newspaper' is itself not recorded in English before 1670, but the printer's product variously called a 'gazette' (1605), 'coranto' (1621) or 'newsbook' (1650) was in no meaningful way different from that which was called a newspaper.<sup>8</sup> The common ground of the various definitions proposed is that a newspaper should be a printed series providing a purchasing public with general news at regular intervals. The differences between the theories come with questions about what exactly counts as a series (is a single running title necessary?), as a regular interval (twice yearly, monthly, fortnightly, weekly? And even with the intention of regularity, how often can a publication day be missed before publication is considered irregular?), or as public, general, news, etc. Some writers have laid down more stringent requirements than others, before the late twentieth century often to disqualify some sorts of publication in order to give their own favourite publication an exaggerated priority as 'first' national or international newspaper.<sup>9</sup> A nationalistic desire to say that one's own people

8 OED, 'newspaper' 1a.

9 See the historiographical discussion in Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam – Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe', *Het Boek* 3 (1939), pp. 161–198.

had produced the first ‘true’ newspaper, or the first newspaper ‘worthy of the name’ was very much in evidence.<sup>10</sup>

In what follows, these definitional criteria have been applied loosely, in order not to impose retrospective ideas about what we think counts as a newspaper on to the messier realities of past events and practices. A central criterion of many nineteenth and twentieth-century definitions is that a newspaper be printed—which would exclude today’s online newspapers from consideration. Given early modern practices of scribal reproduction and publication, at their most obvious in the production of the handwritten newsletters known as *avvisi*, often produced to a weekly schedule, a strong case can be made for expanding the definition of ‘newspaper’ not only to digital publication in the twenty-first century, but also to scribal publication in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the focus of the present work is limited to the circulation of news in print, and ‘newspapers’ will be used to mean printed news serials, as distinct from ‘newsletters’ or ‘*avvisi*’.

Generally speaking, newspaper historians have considered the production of the newspaper to rely on two material preconditions: cheap print, which from the mid-sixteenth century made ephemeral printing economically viable, and regular posts, which enabled the sending of weekly newsletters from newswriters and business agents to leading figures in trade, banking, politics and religious institutions. Newspapers were printed and sold publicly, like pamphlets, almanacs and broadside ballads, but were also regular and general, like newsletters.

The difference between Verhoeven’s earlier pamphlets and those considered under the collective title *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* is, however, of greater than bibliographical significance. The use of continuous signatures, and from 1621 the consecutive numbering of each year’s issues, beginning with the first issue after 1 January, shows that Verhoeven had made a conscious decision to market his pamphlets as an on-going product with an annual pay-off in the form of a ready-made history of the previous year. The model for this was not so much the celebratory pamphlet reporting the details of a particular event, as the annual chronicle relating the great public affairs of the previous year. In the Low Countries, these were printed in large numbers and are often found bound

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10 Hence such absurdities as the claim that the *Paris Gazette*, which began publication decades after the first German newsheets, was ‘the oldest of the newspapers of Europe’. Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (Paris, 1866), p. 3.

11 The most important work in this regard is Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome, 2002).

with almanacs, the prognostications of the coming year balanced by a retrospective of the year just past. Verhoeven's early career as a producer of fine engravings, rather than ephemeral newspapers, no doubt also played through into his heavy use of woodcut illustration. Verhoeven's newspaper thus drew not on two, but on four traditions of public communication: the newsletter, the pamphlet, the almanac chronicle, and the print.

The present work is concerned to trace the interaction of these different current-affairs genres of print culture with the wider culture and with the political concerns of the Habsburg Netherlands, from the beginnings of recatholicisation in 1585 through to the fundamental shifts in the confessional model of politics in the course of the 1650s. A chronological narrative has been adopted in the hope that it will provide a structure in which it is easier to present a coherent view of changes over time, and of the interaction between changes in the print culture, the course of public events and the political concerns of the regime.

In the course of developing this narrative three concerns have been foremost. The first concern is the simple history of the printing of newspapers, following the programme for newspaper history set out by Folke Dahl (1905–1970), probably the most influential newspaper historian of the twentieth century. The first stage of this programme is newspaper bibliography, determining what series were printed where by whom; the second stage is newspaper history, using the internal evidence of the newspapers themselves to build up a picture of the news printed, and archival evidence to determine the identity of the journalists involved and the constraints imposed on them by political decision-makers. This programme is largely dependent on the methodology of library studies and literary history (Dahl was himself a librarian), tending to the identification and analysis of individual series rather than to any consideration of the wider cultural significance of printed news, which Dahl explicitly rejected as beyond the scope of newspaper history. A different approach grew out of journalism and communication studies, particularly in Germany, but this movement was more interested in fitting early modern newspapers into theoretical models of communication, or media history in the longer term, than in integrating the history of early newspapers with the history of early-modern politics and culture.

The analysis of newspapers carried out here owes much to the work of Paul Ries, particularly 'The Anatomy of a Seventeenth-century Newspaper', *Daphnis* 6 (1977), and 'Der Inhalt der Wochenzeitungen', *Presse und Geschichte* 2 (1987). This involves a close reading of the texts themselves, in line with Dahl's programme, followed by attention to those aspects of wider cultural significance which Dahl rejected as beyond the newspaper historian's scope. In the present

case the main body of texts comprises 1186 issues out of a probable original of 1336 of the Antwerp *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (1620–1629), 247 out of a probable original total of between 250 and 300 issues of the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* (1629–1631) and 11 issues out of at least 144 of the *Courante* (1632–1634); 147 surviving copies of Antwerp and Bruges newspapers printed in the years 1635–1655, out of an original total almost certainly in excess of 4000; and 838 issues of the *Courier véritable des Pays-bas* (Brussels, 1649–1650) and the *Relations véritables* (Brussels, 1650–1659), out of a probable original total of 1022. The numbers of surviving issues used in the international comparisons for the sample years 1623 and 1644 can be gathered, respectively, from Tables 3 and 5 below. As can be seen, survivals vary greatly from newspaper to newspaper, and from year to year, and any general statement about the contents of the newspapers must always be qualified by awareness of this.

The second concern is to assess the wider significance of newspapers. This means trying to recapture the culture of news exchange within which the first newspapers made their appearance, a largely oral culture but one which already had certain points of contact with print culture in ways touched on above. As Jeffrey Sawyer has remarked, 'Rather than thinking of print as a novelty that replaced the traditional oral channels of communication, we should think of it as interwoven with everyday discourse'.<sup>12</sup> One pamphlet described itself in the subtitle as 'for all people to hear or to read'.<sup>13</sup> The same can be said of the relationship between newspapers and the print culture within which they appeared. A constantly repeated misconception in histories of the press is that changes in what was printed reflect changes in what was thought and said: thus some historians see celebratory pamphlets as a genre published before the newspaper, showing a public appreciation of affairs which changed with the appearance of newspapers. But such pamphlets survive in much greater numbers from the years after newspapers began to appear, and quite clearly met a different social or market requirement. Everyday political discourse included gossip, rumour, private letters (which might nevertheless be read aloud in taverns or on market places or at commodity exchanges), scribally published newsletters (handwritten but offered for sale to the general public), public prayers and processions (with the attendant ringing of bells), the flourish of trumpets that preceded the reading out of proclamations subsequently pasted up in public places, the beating of drums to signal recruitment

12 *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley & Oxford, 1990), p. 69.

13 'in dit Boecxken verhaelt, voor alle Menschen om te hooren oft te lesen', *Waerachtighe beschrijvinghe van twee nieuwe Propheten* (Liège, Leonard Streel, 1616).

drives, and the reading and discussing of pamphlets and newspapers in taverns, church porches and barbershops. The printing of newspapers did not make other news genres obsolete. They simply show that a different part of the culture was now appearing in print intended for public sale.

As they became embedded in everyday life, newspapers came to play an organising role in both oral and print culture, clarifying what (and who) was 'important' in public affairs, what events one should discuss, what had actually happened, what configuration of circumstances determined the political and military outcomes which were the subject of pamphlet reporting and copperplate engravings. The great events discussed or celebrated in pamphlets and prints were understood in the light of general affairs covered in the newspapers; opinion pamphlets made use of newspaper styles, or were cast in the form of fictive dialogues between groups of newspaper readers. Histories to provide the background to current events, maps to situate them geographically, sermons and discourses showing God's design in the world, portrait prints to give the likeness of the rulers and commanders mentioned, all were published in the light of interest maintained and informed, if not generated, by newspapers, and such publications were advertised to newspaper readers in the newspapers themselves. Newspapers in turn came to determine what would go into almanac chronicles, and became a source for contemporary historians. At one stage of the research, it looked as though newspapers in fact changed little: the sort of critical discussion of public affairs that the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas situates in the late seventeenth century was an established part of the oral culture long before newspapers were printed, and the other genres mentioned all existed independently of the newspaper. But over time it did come to seem that, for common people at least, newspapers channelled the collective exercise of political understanding into the hermetic categories of professional newswriters, who were in turn subject to a number of specific political and economic pressures.

Political pressure, in particular, will be of interest. Newspapers are seldom mentioned in general histories of the early modern period, and when they are it is usually in the context of government propaganda. This is the second great over-simplification in newspaper history: to see newspapers not as a simple reflection of 'public opinion', but as a simple reflection of the government's preferred view of affairs.<sup>14</sup> It was with this assumption that I began the research

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14 An overview of the sometimes over-dismissive and sometimes over-optimistic expectations of historians first coming to newspapers is provided in Glenn R. Wilkinson, 'At the Coal-face of History: Personal Reflections on Using Newspapers as a Source', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, 1995 Annual, pp. 211–221.

on which this book is based: that as a chronicle of the 'propaganda war' of the Habsburgs in the Netherlands it could be placed alongside existing accounts of the land war and the war at sea.<sup>15</sup> But it soon became apparent that the picture is nothing like so simple. Most newspapers could not survive without generating profit from sales, and had to meet the information requirements of the readers in order to sell. There is evidence that readers turned to foreign newspapers, even those printed in enemy territory, in order to compare and collate reports and thus get the fullest picture of affairs. In the Habsburg Netherlands, Dutch and French newspapers were imported in bulk even during war years. As a result there was a constantly renegotiated compromise between the concerns of propaganda and of information, those in authority setting limits to what could safely be printed but seldom intervening directly in the day-to-day business of news printing. This process itself casts light on the concerns and methods of early-modern government.

Our third concern is the international dimension. At every stage an attempt will be made to put the developments in the Habsburg Netherlands into the context of the European news system as a whole. For that was one rather startling realization: far from there being clear differences in the stories covered by Catholic and Protestant newspapers, Habsburg and anti-Habsburg, the news printed was largely the same in all the newspapers studied. Minor differences of emphasis and editing can be explained by different confessional and dynastic loyalties, but in general the newspaper readership as a whole was provided with the same fairly complete coverage of the great public affairs of every part of Western Europe and occasionally beyond. The limits of this coverage were the limits of Europe's regular postal services, and some of the changes in the newswriting services used by newspaper editors can be explained by changes in the structures of the posts. Close study of where editors got their news from shows that the preferences of individual newspapers might differ, but the really major newswriting centres (the top five or top ten) were pretty much the same across Europe. Below this group, reports might come from a number of different places, but the news covered was generally the same. The international nature of the news, the anonymity of the newswriters, and the availability even of foreign newspapers through the posts, meant that national governments faced new challenges in trying to influence the content of current-affairs publications. Over the course of the seventeenth century,

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15 Such as Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders* (Cambridge, 1972); R.A. Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders* (Cambridge, 1992). Just such an account of the propaganda war has now been produced by Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam, 2012).

governments became ever more adept at turning this news system to their own account, but it was fundamentally beyond their control. Ultimately, censorship was abandoned in favour of a system of rewards and subventions that ensured that those who co-operated with the government had an edge over their competitors. In the Habsburg Netherlands, the central authorities largely forfeited direct control of the newspaper press in the 1630s, and a number of subsequent attempts to regain it from local authorities failed.

Much of this work ascertains matters of fact: who printed news, what type of news, what actual stories, where from, what role the government played, what can be discovered about the readership. It presents no grand theory of communication. If there is a single thought running through, it is that newspapers are interesting, and useful to the historian, because they hold up a mirror to the seventeenth-century mind, and they do so in many different ways. Lying where the book trade and literary culture intersected both with commerce and communication, and with public opinion and the concerns of governments to safeguard reputation, they might be seen as marginal to any number of fields but they reveal some of the ways in which these fields interacted.

The first chapter, covering the period from the Habsburg reconquest of 1585 to the appearance of the first newspaper of the Habsburg Netherlands in 1620, will outline the regulatory and political context in which news was printed, and the second chapter will outline the structures of newswriting and news publishing. Two chapters will follow on Abraham Verhoeven, one on his career (1605–1634), contacts and newspaper, the other on the international news networks and international newspaper publication of the sample year 1623. A fifth chapter, on the period 1632–1648, will describe the loss of central control over news publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands and its context in the Europe-wide explosion of news publishing in the 1630s and '40s, with a comparative analysis of a number of newspapers printed in the sample year 1644. And finally, a sixth chapter will cover the establishment of a courtly propaganda newspaper in Brussels after 1649, the image of the dynasty it sought to portray, and the fruitless attempts of its editors to have their competitors in Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent closed down. Again, but more tentatively, this will be put in the context of more general international trends.



## Political, Legal and Urban Contexts

The world in which Europe's first printed newspapers emerged was one in which there were already many complex interactions between news, opinion, printing, and control. In the Habsburg Netherlands, patterns of public communication and the book trade at the end of the sixteenth century have to be seen in the light of the Dutch Revolt that broke out in the late 1560s, and the process of royal reconquest and reconciliation that ended the Revolt in a number of cities and provinces over the course of the 1580s. An important element in this context was the system of regulations by which the authorities sought to limit and channel the activities of printers and booksellers, but this was only one aspect of a broad and constant effort to maintain the reputation of the dynasty by any means possible.

### Confessionalisation and Reputation

The military border between the two emerging states of the Habsburg Netherlands and the United Provinces of the Netherlands did not correspond neatly with the religious and political allegiances of the inhabitants. There were large pockets of Catholic and loyalist opinion in the northern provinces, and of Protestant and republican sympathy in the south; nor were Catholicism and loyalism synonymous, any more than Protestantism and rebellion. Perfectly orthodox Catholics could oppose the government, as events amply demonstrated in 1568–1578 and 1632, but it was far harder to be an actively loyal Protestant: full conformity to royal wishes entailed accepting Catholicism, which the Habsburgs everywhere made the touchstone of allegiance, despite the large numbers of their non-Catholic subjects—Jews and Muslims in Spain and Portugal, and Protestants in Austria, Bohemia and the Netherlands.

The most remarkable aspect of the self-presentation of the Habsburgs was the way in which they sought to mobilise Catholic religious loyalties in dynastic causes, and portray themselves as a dynasty that was Catholic in a way that no other prince could quite claim to be.<sup>1</sup> This made confessionalisation and

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1 On this dynastic self-image and strategy of presentation, see particularly Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Vermont, 2011).

religious dissent the prime location for the construction and contestation of loyalty. Dynastic identity might be related to religion, but was conceptually distinct. The opponents of the Habsburgs in the Netherlands generally referred to their enemies as 'Spaniards' or 'the King of Spain', but the dynasty's claims in the Low Countries derived from their succession to the Valois dukes of Burgundy through Charles V's paternal grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. In loyalist contexts they were often referred to collectively as 'the House of Burgundy and Austria', and emphasis was placed on their titles as Duke of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders, and so forth. Each city and each province of the Low Countries had its own legal and historical identity, often forged at least partially in opposition to other cities or provinces, but was also subject to the wider late-medieval complex of state institutions established by the Dukes of Burgundy.<sup>2</sup> The union of the Low Countries with Spain was personal, through the identity of the monarch; the union of the provinces of the Low Countries with one another was structural.<sup>3</sup> The Seventeen Provinces formed a composite polity within the composite monarchy of the Spanish Crown.

Political and patriotic loyalties did not coincide entirely with religious conviction, and were in many cases probably far more pragmatic, but the same problem of suppressing alternative loyalties without either alienating the favourably minded or destroying potentially useful subjects remained. The task facing the authorities on both sides was to go beyond enforcing obedience, to obtaining the co-operation of a respectful and admiring population. It was something of a commonplace that only when obeying willingly would subjects obey effectively. The combination of affection and awe which was held to inspire such voluntary obedience was variously labelled 'virtue', 'authority', 'fame', 'good opinion', or, the favourite of Spanish policy-makers, 'reputation'. By whatever name it went, it was seen as the prime ingredient of successful rule. As Joannes Bochijs, secretary of Antwerp's city council, wrote: rule was strong when supported by the love and willingness of the well-affected subject.<sup>4</sup> A more 'absolutist' thinker such as historiographer royal Nicolaus

2 Steven Gunn, 'War and Identity in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1477–1559', in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, edited by Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 149; Leiden, 2010), pp. 151–172.

3 For the distinction, see J.H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *Past & Present* 137 (1992), pp. 48–71.

4 'Eadem quoque in imperiis est ratio, quae amore et volentium hominum benevolentia fulciuntur, conservantur', Joannes Bochijs, *Historica narratio protectionis et inaugurationis serenissimorum Belgii principum Alberti et Isabellae* (Antwerp, 1602), p. 188.

Vernulaeus might place more emphasis on awe than on affection, but both were necessary for the authority which was the cornerstone of power.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from Bochius and Vernulaeus, the literature of political thought was filled with the idea of reputation—all the major Catholic anti-Machiavellian writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, including thinkers from the Habsburg Netherlands such as Justus Lipsius and Carolus Scribani, made the acquisition and maintenance of reputation the first element of statecraft.<sup>6</sup> A lesser-known but entirely representative anti-Machiavellian, the Englishman Thomas Fitzherbert (himself a former intelligencer) put it as follows:

As for reputation (which is also called *Honour, estimation, fame, good name, or credit*) no smale regard is to be had therto, when ther is any question of the princes commoditie, seeing that of al external goods it is the principal & most pretious, and (as S. Thomas affirmeth) *most like to the goods of the minde*, wherupon Salomon saith, *Melius est bonum nomen quam divitiae multae. Good name is better then great riches*. Which is evident in matter of state, for that reputation conserveth the states of princes manie times, no lesse or rather more then wealth and force. In which respect Tiberius Caesar was wont to say, as Tacitus noteth; *That although the deliberation of al other men, doe commonly consist in the consideration of utility and profit; yet the state of a prince is such, that he ought principally to respect fame and reputation*; And the reason is, for that the losse of reputation, is not onlie the signe and (as I may say) the preamble of a princes fal, but also the occasion thereof manie times, because therewith decaieth & falleth commonly the affection of freends and the respect, feare, and obedience of subjects; whereupon followeth the subversion of states.<sup>7</sup>

5 'Principis Auctoritas nihil aliud est quam subditorum exterorumque de eius Celsitudine summa augustique existimatio, ex qua veneratio sequitur'. (*Institutionum politicarum* (Leuven, 1623), lib. 1, tit. 18, cap. 1). Even so, 'Fundamentum Auctoritatis amorem esse subditorum' (cap. 6). The whole of lib. 1 tit. 18 is 'De Auctoritate Regia'. On Vernulaeus's career, see Joost Depuydt, 'Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649)', unpublished licence thesis (Leuven, 1991), pp. 9–32.

6 See Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince. Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill & London, 1990), esp. pp. 54–56 (Giovanni Botero), 82–84 (Justus Lipsius), 123, 127 (Pedro de Ribadeneira), 147–148 (Adam Contzen), 171–177 (Carolus Scribani), 198–200 (Diego Saavedra Fajardo), 223–225 (in general).

7 Thomas Fitzherbert, *The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy and Religion* (2nd ed., [Douai], 1615; facsimile reprint English Recusant Literature 175, 1974), chap. 31, num. 10

Nor was this concern limited to theorists of Reason of State. 'Reputation' became one of the buzz-words of the policy-makers of the Spanish Monarchy.<sup>8</sup> In 1621 Celliero Bonatti, the Mantuan ambassador in Spain, wrote that 'the true support of this monarchy, which is little less than collapsing, lies in maintaining reputation'.<sup>9</sup> Baltasar de Zúñiga, the man largely responsible for bringing Spain into the Thirty Years' War, was 'always acutely sensitive to the importance of "reputation"—of prestige and face-saving—as an essential component of power'.<sup>10</sup> When considering the renewal of the Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch, in 1621, Zúñiga made a speech to the Council of State in which he stated that, 'a monarchy that has lost its *reputación*, even if it has lost no territory, is a sky without light, a sun without rays, a body without a soul'.<sup>11</sup> In similar terms Ambrogio Spinola, the commander-in-chief of the Army of Flanders and *majordomo mayor* of the Brussels court, spoke of personal reputation as 'the soul of this life, the most esteemed part of it',<sup>12</sup> and as he lay dying he was heard to mutter 'honour and reputation' over and over.<sup>13</sup> It was in the field of reputation that government involvement with the press was at its most complex.

There were various ways of winning the loyalty of churchmen and noblemen through the structures of ecclesiastical and courtly patronage centred on the sovereign and the court. The relationship with the great cities was less direct, especially as these were themselves amalgams of lesser jurisdictions—patrician connections, guilds, wards and neighbourhoods, parishes and closes. The solution to the problem of control was to build bridges between the urban elites and the court, the royal authorities largely supporting the patrician drive

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(p. 271). In the original the sources of the quotations from Aquinas, Proverbs and Tacitus are referenced in the margin.

8 See e.g. J.H. Elliott, 'Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV', in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, edited by Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 145–173 (reprinted in J.H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World 1500–1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 162–188).

9 Quoted in J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1986), p. 43.

10 Elliott, *The Count-Duke*, p. 57.

11 Quoted in Elliott, *The Count-Duke*, p. 58.

12 'en esta vida la reputación es el alma della y lo que más se estima', quoted in Bart De Groof, 'A Noble Courtier and a Gentleman Warrior. Some Aspects of the Creation of the Spinola Image', in *Presenting the Past: History, Art, Language, Literature*, edited by Jane Fenoulhet and Lesley Gilbert (London, 1996), p. 45.

13 Giulio Mazarinno to Cardinal Bagni, 30 September 1630, quoted in Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *Ambrosio Spínola, primer marqués de los Balbases* (Madrid, 1905), p. 593.

for greater authority within the city, in return for loyalty to the aims of the central state.<sup>14</sup> The resulting symbiosis was described by Henri Pirenne as 'absolute monarchy tempered by local autonomies'.<sup>15</sup>

For the authorities, part of this project was encouraging the dissemination of news that enhanced reputation by demonstrating prowess or piety; reports of defeats and disasters which might diminish reputation were to be discouraged. Geoffrey Parker has written that:

Presses all over the south Netherlands printed pamphlets and history books, as well as Bibles and devotional manuals, to set out what a good Catholic should believe in politics as well as in religion [...] Gradually a consistent attitude emerged, a sort of "collective identity" which was distinct and able to resist the inroads, intellectual as well as military, of both the Dutch [...] and the French.<sup>16</sup>

One theme in the pages that follow will be how news publication fitted into this process—the role of current-affairs publishing in creating loyalist and Catholic public identities.

But this process of identity-formation, or the formation of 'good opinion' in local elites, relied less, from the government's point of view, on the printed word, and far more on public ceremonies which encouraged the populace, and particularly its politically active sections, to identify with the aspirations and successes of their rulers by physically participating in devotional actions. This was the main way in which those in authority tried to increase their 'good opinion'. The most direct tools of government propaganda were public prayers and processions. Sieges and campaigns were occasions for prayers of intercession, royal deaths and military setbacks called for public mourning, and victories, treaties, and such dynastic triumphs as baptisms, marriages, entries and coronations, led the Council of State to write to the bishops asking them to order the singing of 'Te Deum laudamus' in their cathedral or, in the most important cases, throughout their dioceses.<sup>17</sup> In the seventeenth century, these

14 H. Soly, 'Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van de middeleeuwen naar de nieuwe tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97 (1984), pp. 341–361.

15 'une monarchie absolue tempérée par des autonomies locales' (Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 4 (Brussels, 1919), p. 394).

16 G. Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, p. 260.

17 There is no single source for the events which elicited such official response in this period, but a composite and provisional list for the 1630s and '40s could be compiled on the basis

orders were themselves printed to facilitate distribution.<sup>18</sup> The great annual processions and festivities that were an established part of civic culture could also become vehicles for conveying the reputation of the regime, but have less to do with current events.<sup>19</sup>

At times of national celebration, the Council of State would also write to the town councils giving them official notification of the joyous occasion, both so that they could organise fitting expressions of public celebration, such as bonfires and banquets, and to ensure that they were present at the Te Deum. Garrison commanders might be expected to add fireworks, volleys, perhaps as much as a parade or tournament, to the festivities. Royal deaths and funerals also led to orders for public mourning: obsequies in the churches, attended by the notables; black cloths draped on public buildings; the banners and muffled drums of infantry companies edged in black. In 1621 the Archdukes Albert and Isabella spent over £1500 artois to express public mourning at the death of Philip III (their heir presumptive), including '35 black flags with the red saltire of Burgundy' specially made in Antwerp for the occasion.<sup>20</sup> On particularly important occasions, the central authorities were prepared to go to some lengths to impress their own symbolism on such public festivities. At Albert's own death, the organisation of the memorial services was even more tightly controlled than usual.<sup>21</sup> On 6 September 1621 the pensionaries of Mechelen had a meeting in Brussels with Privy Councillor Steenhuys, to discuss arrangements for the obsequies of the Archduke in Mechelen. Their report of the meeting for Mechelen's town council ends with the note: 'We were also told that in the event of the clergy [of the cathedral] not accepting the said arrangements, the service should be held in the Franciscan church'.<sup>22</sup>

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of a number of documents: ARB, Raad van State, 163 (Te Deum, 1638–1700); ARB, Kerkelijk Archief, Sint-Goedele, 7684 (Brieven van't gouvernement, 1643–1720); AAM, Aartsbischop Boonen, no. 6 (Boonen's diary 1621–1655); and the volumes of civic proclamations printed by the Plantin Office.

18 See e.g. AAM, Aartsbischoffen, Boonen, dossier 6.

19 Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle, 2007), pp. 227–275.

20 '35 drappeaux noirs avecq la croix rouge de Bourgogne'. Jules Finot, *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord. Archives civiles. Série B. Chambre des Comptes de Lille, nos 2788 à 3228*, vol. 6 (Lille, 1888), p. 103.

21 Jan Papy and Toon Van Houdt, 'The Image of the Archduke Albert in Seventeenth-Century Funeral Literature', in *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays*, edited by Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 319–334; Thøfner, *Common Art*, pp. 299–321.

22 'Hebben ons oyck geseyt, zoo verre de geestelycheyt niet en wilden verstaen tot het voirseyt ordre, dat men het wtvaert zaude doen haude te Minnebroeders'. J. Van der Laen

One type of publication not usually considered a news publication is a civic ordinance, the sort of byelaw that regulated Sunday opening times or the location and duration of markets, instituted curfews, stipulated weights and measures for meat and grain, and prohibited bathing in the moat. These gained the force of law by being formally read out in a public place. This might simply be a supposedly 'open session' of the council, but an ordinance that the populace at large needed to be aware of would be read out from the steps of the town hall to a fanfare of trumpets, and then posted up in prominent locations throughout the city. This seems to have been close to a fixed expression, 'to be proclaimed from the steps of the town hall and posted up in the accustomed places', but sadly without any clear identification of where the accustomed places might be.<sup>23</sup> It seems a reasonable surmise, but still little more than a guess, that these were the town hall itself, the porches of the major churches, the guardhouses at city gates, perhaps the guildhalls, and in Antwerp the mint, the customs house, and the exchange. These latter three cannot but have advertised the central government decrees on excise, contraband, and coinage.

In many towns, weddings, deaths and bankruptcies would also be announced from the steps of the town hall. In something of a reversal of what would now be expected, details of murders, abandoned babies, rapes, robberies, slanderous gossip, vandalism, abductions and elopements were available not in the newspapers (which were largely concerned with great affairs of war and diplomacy, dynastic events and international trade), but in local ordinances issued to bring the culprits to justice. The following is just one example of this type of 'local news':

Commanded and decreed by my Lords, the Under-sheriff, Mayors, Aldermen and Council of the City of Antwerp on 25 June 1640. Whereas Robrecht van Eeckeren did on the eighteenth of this month climb over the garden wall of the parish priest of the church of St Jacob, and there against the parish priest's will remove a young woman named Barbara, to

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& Paul van Christynen to Mechelen city council, Brussels 7 Sept. 1621, in V. Hermans (ed.), *Inventaire des Lettres Missives*, new series, vol. 1 (Mechelen, 1885), pp. 61–63.

23 'afgheroepen ter puyen...ende met affictie van billetten op de publicque plaetsen', Antonio Anselmo, *Commentaria ad perpetuum edictum serenissimorum Belgii principum Alberti et Isabellae* (Antwerp: Petrus Bellerus, 1664), p. 251; 'soo sal dese gepubliceert worden ter Puye van den Stad-huyse ende geaffixeert ter gecostumierde plaetsen', Jean-Baptiste Hubert Serruys, *Tweede deel van den zesden Placcaert-Boek van Vlaenderen* (Ghent: Petrus de Goesin en Zoonen, 1786), p. 773.

that end using great insolence and threats against those of the house, and as his serving man aided him in the aforesaid climbing, and the aforesaid van Eeckeren [and his man] are fugitives by cause of the aforesaid deeds, it is hereby declared by the Lord and City that the same van Eeckeren and his man are summoned to present themselves within eight days, well before noon, while the magistrates are sitting in judgement, or else, notwithstanding their absence, the law will proceed against them as is common in such cases.

P. VAN VALCKENISSEN

It is by no means unique. To give just one further example:

Commanded and decreed by my Lords, the Under-sheriff, Mayors, Aldermen and Council of the City of Antwerp on 27 July 1643. Whereas Gillis Motet, former singer in the Church of Our Lady here, on the 24th of the present month did in the Porch of the aforesaid Church injure the Choirmaster with a knife, inflicting a wound in the back; and given that the aforesaid Gillis Motet has absented himself and that such mischief cannot be left unpunished, it is hereby declared that the same Gillis Motet is summoned by the Lord and City to present himself within eight days, well before noon, while the magistrates are sitting in judgement, and be it known that, notwithstanding his absence, the law will proceed against him as is common in such cases.

J.B. DELLA FAILLE

In Antwerp such ordinances were printed to a high quality by the Plantin office, a princely establishment with an international reputation, standing on one of the city's marketplaces, while the newspapers that dealt with great affairs of state were issued from Verhoeven's pokey little shop in the Lombardenvest. But the ordinances of most immediate concern here are those that order the inhabitants of the city to decorate their house fronts festively or sombrely, and to avoid public shows of sadness or of joy that would jar with the mood of public ceremonies. The sight and sound of the public spaces of the city, even the demeanour of the inhabitants, were expected to respond to public events such as battles, sieges, the proclamation of a truce or peace treaty, and to royal births, marriages and deaths.<sup>24</sup>

24 For the seventeenth century, the fullest collection of such civic ordinances, with occasional royal or episcopal orders mixed in, is to be found in the volumes of the Museum Plantin-Moretus, which is launching a project to make them available online.



The types of event reported in news pamphlets were for the most part those that would also be the occasion for public commemoration. Where newspapers were the expression in print of international patterns of communication, occasional news publications should be seen in a much more local perspective, primarily the carrying range of church bells—although these were bells that would toll for a royal death in Spain or peel for a Habsburg victory in Hungary. Bell-ringing and public processions were as much a characteristic of the funerals and marriages of local notables, but these, unlike the more distant triumphs of the House of Habsburg, could be adequately comprehended by local networks of gossip. Even such events were occasions for the appearance of commemorative or celebratory publications, a type of news publishing with which we shall not be concerned.<sup>25</sup>

While ephemeral publications have often been seen as a form of propaganda, it would perhaps be more useful to consider them market reactions to propaganda. They did not themselves give events their public character, but were attempts by enterprising printers to meet a demand for details about events which were already, or would very soon be, the occasion for bell-ringing, processions, prayers, parades, and perhaps banquets and bonfires, giving rise to eager discussion and speculation about the facts behind the ceremonies.

One case where an exact chronology can be reconstructed is that of the relief of Valenciennes on 16 July 1656.<sup>26</sup> Don Juan de Austria sent off brief letters with a notification of the victory on the day of the battle itself.<sup>27</sup> The very next day, Willem Scheybels in Brussels printed a rather sketchy *Les Premières Nouvelles de la levée du siège de Valenciennes* as a special issue of the newspaper *Relations véritables*: before the existence of the newspaper, a publication as insubstantial as this would hardly have been marketable. By 19 July, intelligencers in both Paris and Brussels were writing the news to London.<sup>28</sup> Not until 21 July did the Brussels Council of State order that the raising of the siege

25 See, however, Massimo Petta, 'Printed Funerals in 16th- and 17th-Century Milan', in *Routines of Existence: Time, Life and After Life in Society and Religion*, edited by Elena Brambilla et al. (Pisa, 2009), pp. 106–137. I am not aware of any comparable work on printed accounts of funerals in the Habsburg Netherlands.

26 Simon Le Boucq, *Récit du Siège de Valenciennes en 1656: Publié d'après le manuscrit original*, edited by Maurice Hénault (Valenciennes, 1889). The event was the occasion for Vondel's poem 'Verlossinge van Valencyn'.

27 e.g. Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, vol. 5 (London, 1742), p. 190: 'The translation of a letter writ with the own hand writing of his most serene highness the prince don John to don Alonzo de Cardenas'.

28 Birch, op. cit., pp. 198–199.

be marked by public celebrations.<sup>29</sup> By that time, the news was already known in The Hague.<sup>30</sup> On 22 July, to capitalise on public interest, the *Relations véritables* ran an advert for another special edition, comprising a partial list of the French prisoners captured at Valenciennes.<sup>31</sup> In response to the Council of State's order, the city council of Antwerp on 22 July in its turn ordered that public celebrations would be held in their city on the evening of 23 July, a week after the battle itself.<sup>32</sup> Only on 28 July, almost a fortnight after the event, and several days after the news was public and had been publicly celebrated, was Scheybels in a position to print the sort of circumstantial account of the victory that corresponds to a typical occasional news pamphlet of the sixteenth century: *Relation du Siege mis devant Valenciennes par les François le 15. Juin 1656. & levé le 16. Juillet avec leur entière deffaite*. It is solely because Scheybels printed not only the year of publication, but the exact day, that we know just how long after the event the pamphlet account appeared.

Certainly some of the news pamphlets providing information about victories will have been subsidised, and a number were clearly facilitated by the authorities making letters or documents available for publication, but in most cases it seems likely that they were not primarily intended either to provide news or propaganda—letters, gossip and public proclamations and ceremonies would already have done that—but to make money by satisfying curiosity about the details of events that were already in the public domain. This was, though, something to which the government would set limits, and might in certain cases support, since from the perspective of government the history of news publication is the history of one aspect of the attempt to secure 'reputation'.

### The Regulation of the Book Trade

In most towns of the Habsburg Netherlands printing was, in law, directly subject to the jurisdiction of the Crown. Printers and booksellers were licensed by royal councils, the book trade was policed by royal commissioners, and prosecutions were brought by royal officers rather than by local magistracies. In Antwerp, however, there was an intermediate level of trade supervision, in the form of the Guild of St Luke that all printers, booksellers and bookbinders

29 ARB, RvS 163.

30 Birch, op. cit., p. 206.

31 See also Birch, op. cit., p. 207: 'To the Danish Agent, Antwerp, 22 July 1656'.

32 MPM, A 1843/III:747.

were obliged to join. Part of the licensing process was the provision of testimonials of the applicant's orthodoxy and good name, from the bishop and magistrates of his place of residence. Since the bishops and magistrates were not personally acquainted with every applicant, they relied on the references he provided from his neighbours and parish priest. Upon receipt of his licence, the successful applicant was required to swear to keep the laws regulating the book trade, but as we will see it was not always clear what this meant.

Royal licensing and obligatory guild membership had both been instituted as part of the official response to the spread of heresy in the mid-sixteenth century. A system of preventive censorship based on the issuing of licences was introduced in a proclamation of 22 September 1540, prior government approval being required for any book 'speaking or making mention of Holy Scripture or otherwise concerning our Holy Faith'.<sup>33</sup> In December 1544 royal licensing was extended to the trade itself. Henceforth nobody was to print or sell any books without being licensed as a printer or bookseller by royal authority. The trade was set apart. This may, indeed, have done something for the social standing of booksellers, as the other professions for which individual registration was required were all legal, medical and scholastic. In the county of Flanders, for example, these were notaries, advocates, law clerks, bailiffs, surveyors, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and schoolteachers, besides booksellers.<sup>34</sup>

The piecemeal legislation of the 1520s, '30s and '40s, growing increasingly exasperated in tone and enacting increasingly severe punishments, was brought together in Charles V's perpetual edict for the extirpation of heresy, issued at Brussels on 29 April 1550.<sup>35</sup> This edict systematically covered every aspect of public communication—preaching, disputation, school-teaching, and the printing, selling and distributing of books—as well as such matters as possession of heretical works and giving aid or shelter to known heretics and fugitives. Ten of the twenty-one articles dealt with the book trade, setting out the law on licensing, preventive censorship and policing, and to the edict was appended the index of forbidden books drawn up by the University of Leuven. Having made the Netherlands independent of imperial jurisdiction by the Augsburg Transaction of 1548, and ensuring a united succession to a single heir by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1549, Charles V in 1550 provided the Seventeen

33 *ROPB*, 2nd ser., vol. 4 (Brussels, 1907), pp. 224–229.

34 J. Buntinx, *Inventaris van het archief van de Raad van Vlaanderen*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1964), pp. 63–64.

35 *ROPB*, 2nd ser., vol. 6 (Brussels, 1922), pp. 55–76.

Provinces with an organic law intended to ensure their continued orthodoxy.<sup>36</sup>

However, the attitude of the authorities to the press was not purely, or even primarily, negative. The Fifth Lateran Council's 1515 decree on printed books, the basis of ecclesiastical censorship and the model for the early secular legislation, was expressly intended to prevent abuse of the new technology, with its beneficial possibilities for edification, education and missionary activity. The desire of the Council was that this 'most useful art' should not be perverted to heretical or disedifying ends.<sup>37</sup> Charles V was convinced of the usefulness of the press not just to the Church, but also to the government. It could be used for multiplying proclamations so that the royal will was more widely known, but also for propaganda purposes: in 1528, for example, he sent his brother Ferdinand several documents concerning his dealings with Francis I, requesting that they be translated, printed and distributed to the German princes.<sup>38</sup>

Charles V's enactments had increasingly taken the control of the book trade from local magistrates and entrusted it to royal councils and officers.<sup>39</sup> In terms of government licensing Philip II, who assumed rule in the Netherlands in 1555, initially went no further than his father: in December 1557 and again in August 1559 proclamations were issued ordering that the law of 1550 be 'more sharply' or 'more actively' enforced.<sup>40</sup> But in terms of non-governmental organisation of the trade he took a step towards self-regulation. In November 1557 he ordered that a book trade guild be founded in Antwerp to regulate the trade.<sup>41</sup> Specific details were left to the Antwerp magistracy, who responded in May 1558 with a civic ordinance creating a 'nation' of printers and booksellers within the existing Guild of St Luke, primarily a guild of painters, illustrators and engravers but with many booksellers already members.<sup>42</sup>

36 In July and again in September specific exemptions for international merchants were issued; see Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek bolwerk* (Turnhout, 1990), p. 14.

37 Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1 (London & Washington, 1990), pp. 632–633. I am grateful to Ian Gadd for his advice on this point.

38 L. Kenney, *The Censorship Edicts of Emperor Charles V in the Low Countries, 1515–1550*, University of Maryland Ph.D., 1960 (University Microfilms, 1975), p. 120.

39 H. Rousselle, 'Esquisse historique sur la police des livres et sur la législation de la presse, en Belgique', *Mémoires et publications de la société des sciences, des arts et des lettres du Hainaut*, 9 (1851), p. 190.

40 'scerpelicker', 'plus vivement et dilligamment'. *ROPB*, 2nd ser., vol. 7 (Brussels, 1957), pp. 262–263, 513.

41 ARB, Papieren van Staat en Audiëntie, 1709/2, fo. 47.

42 ASKA, Oud Archief Sint-Lucasgilde, 26 (18\*).

The letter of the law might be strict, but if the preamble to an edict of 1568 is to be believed, implementation of existing laws was far from rigorous, and new enactments on seditious printing were needed because such leniency had been abused. This law, particularly aimed at Orangist pamphleteering, showed a clear grasp of the propaganda uses of news reports. The particular target was those who printed news in order 'to attempt to stir up and awaken their accomplices who have until now kept themselves hidden or dissimulated, but also, by the aforesaid false inventions and lies [. . .] labour and exert themselves, to frighten or intimidate our good subjects'.<sup>43</sup> Printing news, rather than views, was what made a short-term difference to the morale of both the disaffected and the 'good subjects'.

The proliferation of wartime legislation obscured the clarity achieved in the law of 1550, while the cross-purposes of royal, local, episcopal and apostolic tribunals added nothing to the effectiveness of regulation. The legal situation was in any case increasingly irrelevant, as royal and ecclesiastical authority became powerless in the face of the Revolt, a series of events with lasting consequences for every aspect of life in the Netherlands.

After the Netherlandish nobility had pacified the disturbances and rebellions of 1566, and Alva defeated the Nassaus' poorly organised campaign of 1568, a more serious revolt broke out in 1572, provoked by the cruelty and incompetence of the Spaniards sent, belatedly, to quell the first.<sup>44</sup> The ever-deepening crisis of confidence in a royal government paralysed by bankruptcy resulted in a 'general revolt' in 1576, in which the Estates General took over the administration of the country and, by the Pacification of Ghent, sought to restore peace and public order. This was not a revolutionary rejection of the king's authority, but a desperate measure in a situation where the royal army had come to pose a more direct threat to public order than did the rebels they were fighting. The decree outlawing mutineers, issued in the king's name, was even included in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century legal compilations, as part of the legislative history of the royal government.<sup>45</sup> In time-honoured

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43 'huere medeplichtige oft complicen, die hen tot nu toe geveynst ghehouden oft gedissimuleert hebben, poogen op te roeren ende verwecken, maer oick byde voirseyde valsche inventien ende luegenen [...] arbeyden ende toeleggen, om onse goede ondersaten te ververen oft intimideren'. *Placcaert ende ordinantie tegens de ghene die eenige fameuse, schandaleuse oft seditieuse boecxkens, artickelen oft scriften maken* (Brussels, Michiel van Hamont, 1568).

44 These paragraphs are based largely on Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, revised edition (n.p., 1985).

45 Antonio Anselmo, *Placcaerten, Ordonnantien, Landt-chartres, Blyde-incomsten, Privilegien ende Instructien, by de Princen van dese Nederlanden, aen de Ingesetenen van Brabant,*

fashion, the Estates claimed to be acting in the king's best interest, and nobody sought to deny his theoretical claim to sovereignty. Nor was this revolt entirely 'general', as the duchy of Luxemburg and the county of Namur were unaffected.

But the coup of the Estates General did not restore peace. It simply returned the struggle to the same footing it had been on before the arrival of the Spaniards: virtual civil war. Throughout 1578, and in defiance of the terms of the Pacification of Ghent, a series of Calvinist and Orangist coups in the cities of the Low Countries alienated the Catholic population. In the same year, Gregory XIII issued breves ordering Catholics who had joined the revolt to submit to the authority of their lawful sovereign.<sup>46</sup> The following year two treaties between various provinces created two unions for mutual defence: the Calvinist-inclined Union of Utrecht in the North (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Gelderland, and the lands around Groningen), and the Catholic Union of Arras in the South (Artois, Hainault and 'Lille-Douai-Orchies' or Walloon Flanders). The Union of Arras almost immediately negotiated a treaty with the prince of Parma, the king's new governor general, already in control of Luxemburg, Limburg and Namur, to co-ordinate their military response to the Calvinist insurgents based around the 'Godly Republic' of Ghent—although no foreign troops were to be admitted to the provinces of the Union. Indeed in 1580, the Union of Arras forced the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Netherlands as a condition of continued co-operation with Parma.

In 1581, a radicalised Estates General dominated by the Union of Utrecht drew up the Act of Abjuration, a formal declaration of the deposition of Philip II, and the Union of Arras responded by recognising in full the king's sovereignty and Parma's authority as governor general, and requesting the return of the *tercios*. The six loyal provinces, and a scattering of loyal towns in Flanders, Brabant and Gelderland, served as the basis for Parma's reconquest of most of the Netherlands. For over a year the army and the royal administration were paralysed by internal division, but in 1583 the main campaign of reconquest was launched, Parma operating in Flanders and Francisco Verdugo, based in Friesland, in the north and east, while a third army under Jean-Baptiste de Tassis was detached to support Ernest of Bavaria in the War of Cologne. At the end of the year the Admiralty of Flanders was re-established, its headquarters

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*Vlaenderen, ende andere Provincien, t'sedert 't jaer M.CC.XX. uytgegeven, geacordeert ende verleent*, vol. 2 (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertssens, 1648; reissued Brussels, Joseph Ermens, 1775), pp. 227–228.

46 M.G. Spiertz, 'De katholieke geestelijke leiders en de wereldlijke overheid in de Republiek der Zeven Provinciën', *Trajecta*, 2 (1993) 1, p. 3.

in newly reconquered Dunkirk, restoring naval capabilities to royal forces in Flanders after a landlocked decade.

Even before the reconquest began, the royalists re-entered the propaganda war. In 1580 Rutger Velpius, a printer to the University in Leuven, became printer to the city of Mons. His relocation expenses were met by the city council, but he was soon printer not only to the city, but also to the court, the Prince of Parma having made Mons his residence until Brussels could be recovered.<sup>47</sup> Velpius immediately set about printing Catholic and royalist works. Several of his pamphlets were news reports, of the type intended to boost morale and discourage potential opposition: Parma's proposals for the recall of royal troops, details of the terms on which Ghent and Brussels surrendered, letters from Anjou captured by the king's soldiers.<sup>48</sup> More significant from the perspective of influencing views in the longer term was his printing of the first effective anti-Orangist satire, *Le Renart decouvert* (1580), generally held to have been written by Jean Richardot (1540–1609), one of Parma's privy councillors.<sup>49</sup>

Parma's advance culminated in the reconquest of almost the entire county of Flanders in 1584, and the lordship of Mechelen and much of the duchy of Brabant in 1585. Brussels surrendered on 12 March, Antwerp on 17 August. With Verdugo's simultaneous advances in Overijssel and Gelderland, the number of loyal provinces had almost been doubled since 1582. The prince of Parma's achievement, as much as the prince of Orange's, was the creation of a new geopolitical entity: the Habsburg Netherlands. From 1585 the Low Countries, after almost twenty years of civil war, were divided geographically. Maurice of Nassau's campaigns of 1590–1593 reversed Verdugo's advances in the north, but not Parma's in the south. From 1593 to 1629 a comparatively stable border between the royal and republican provinces ran from the northern shores of Flanders across northern Brabant to the great rivers, petering out in an area which is now the Dutch-German border, where a number of towns changed hands repeatedly.

The treaties by which the great towns of Flanders and Brabant were reconciled to the king in 1584–1585 reinstated the decrees of Charles V and Philip II in full force, although one important concession was made: rather than being

47 Parma established his 'court' at Mons on 29 April 1580 (H. De Schepper, 'Brabant tussen Spanje en Oranje', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 75 (1992), p. 125).

48 See the pamphlets collected in KBB shelfmark VB 10.204 VI A; and, for licenses for lost works, ARB, GRSP, 1276/45–49.

49 Christiane Piérard, 'Introduction historique', in *Les premiers livres imprimés à Mons* (Mons, 1966), p. 42.

immediately expelled, Protestants were given a grace period—two months in Tournai, three months in Ypres, two years in Ghent and Brussels, four years in Antwerp—to put their affairs in order or conform.<sup>50</sup> Civic magistracies were purged and new royal officers were appointed or reappointed in the localities. The loyalist ‘government-in-exile’ of Flanders and Brabant, formed in Douai, Mons and Namur in the years after 1581, was installed as the legitimate government. Soon after the reconciliation of Brussels, Parma moved his court from Mons back to the traditional princely residence of the Low Countries.

The royal councils that were responsible for policing the book trade had been displaced by rebel institutions, and were restored only gradually. The Council of Flanders returned to Ghent from Douai in early March 1585; the Privy Council moved from Mons to Brussels with the court; the Great Council or Parlement, the highest court of appeal for the royal Netherlands, returned to Mechelen from Namur late in the year. The ‘sovereign’ Council of Brabant, the most important body for the administration of justice within the duchy, had split into no fewer than three rival bodies in 1578–1579, sitting in Leuven, Brussels and Maastricht, and only after long-drawn-out negotiations could a unified Council be re-established at Brussels in 1589.<sup>51</sup> There was one significant absence in the restored system of government: a loyal Estates General, which had met almost annually from 1477 to 1576, was not to be summoned until the Archduke Ernest arrived as governor general in 1594,<sup>52</sup> after which its sessions in 1598, 1600 and 1632–1634 were to be its last.<sup>53</sup>

The restoration did not lead to any great suppression or persecution of deviant printers in the major centres. The printers of Douai, Leuven and ’s-Hertogenbosch had never actively supported the Revolt. In Antwerp, seventeen of the forty-two independent booksellers active at the time of the city’s reconciliation were known to be Catholic, and there may have been Catholics not identified as such. The rest were given until 31 August 1589 to conform or depart.

50 Thijs, *Geuzenstad*, p. 34; *Articulen ende Conditien vanden Tractate [...] tusschen die Hoocheyt vanden Prince van Parma [...] ende die Stadt van Bruessele* (Ghent, 1585).

51 E. Put, ‘Een rompraad met een ingekrompen ressort? De “koninklijke” Raad van Brabant tussen 1578 en 1648’, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 75 (1992), pp. 140–145.

52 Antoinette Doutrepont, ‘L’Archiduc Ernest d’Autriche’, in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, vol. 2 (Brussels & Paris, 1947), pp. 628–629.

53 Robert Wellens, ‘Staten-Generaal (1464–1634)’, translated by Beatrijs Augustyn & Erik Aerts, in *Centrale Overheidsinstellingen van de Habsburgse Nederlanden (1482–1795)*, ed. E. Aerts et al., vol. 1 (Brussels, 1994), pp. 66–67. It was not unusual for deputations of the foremost provincial estates to confer together in Brussels, but these meetings had no constitutional authority.



Most conformed, although many as close to the deadline as possible. The one known Lutheran among them, Arnout Coninx, had no difficulty in obtaining a certificate of reconciliation several months after the deadline had passed.<sup>54</sup> Only in Ghent and Mechelen did Parma's reconquest seriously affect the structure of the book trade: Ghent, the propaganda centre of the Calvinist revolutions of the early 1580s, became a provincial backwater, with book production dominated by official publications and the works of local dignitaries, while Mechelen's sole printer emigrated to the North, not to be replaced for almost thirty years.<sup>55</sup>

Before 1576 the effectiveness of the laws had been vitiated by the profusion of tribunals, but after 1585 fairly clear divisions of concern emerged, in practice if not in theory. Licensed printers and booksellers who broke the law were prosecuted by the royal councils which granted their licences, while individuals not connected to the trade who were found to possess or have distributed forbidden works were tried by civic and diocesan courts. The inquisition proper had lapsed in 1572, when no replacement was appointed for the deceased inquisitor apostolic. By 1585, the Privy Council had managed to establish itself as the sole licensing body for the Netherlands as a whole, but books could still be printed and sold within the duchy of Brabant solely under the licence of the Council of Brabant. If the licensing and policing bodies had to some extent been rationalised, the law itself was a mess, a hotch-potch of licensing laws, the prohibition of specific works, and laws on heresy and sedition only incidentally relating to the book trade. It was no longer clear just what laws a printer was swearing to uphold when taking up his licence.

By 1590 the mechanisms of regulation were again in place, and their shortcomings began to become apparent. An overhaul of existing regulations was proposed by the censors of the universities, and in the summer of 1595 the Privy Council requested the comments of the bishops,<sup>56</sup> but as with most reforms proposed under Ernest, no action was taken until after 1609.<sup>57</sup> Only in 1612 was the law rationalised, and then at the request of the trade itself. The booksellers of Antwerp petitioned that anachronistic regulations be suppressed and the laws they were swearing to uphold be clarified. This resulted in

54 Thijs, *Geuzenstad*, pp. 102, 243 note 1.

55 J. Machiels, 'De boekdrukkunst te Gent', in *Gent, duizend jaar kunst en cultuur*, vol. 2 (Ghent, 1975), pp. 47–50; Guido Marnef, *Het Calvinistisch bewind te Mechelen* (Standen en Landen 87; 1987), p. 293.

56 ARB, GRSP, 1276, 342.

57 On the Ernestine roots of reform under Albert and Isabella, see G. Croisiau, 'Het Eewich Edict', in *Liber amicorum John Gilissen* (Antwerp, n.d.), pp. 67–68.

a proclamation which largely returned the law to the situation of 1550, but with two important differences: no mention was made of safeguarding the praiseworthy art of printing from the taint of heresy, it being taken for granted that the government had a legitimate claim to directly regulate the press; and the draconian punishments for printing or possessing heretical works (not implemented for decades) were quietly dropped.<sup>58</sup> At the same time the 'nation' of booksellers and printers made an attempt to form an autonomous guild, which would have given the book trade an entirely independent standing, administratively and corporately, but the deans of the Guild of St Luke took legal action to prevent their secession.<sup>59</sup> On 29 October 1613 and again on 5 July 1614 the archdukes wrote to the magistrates of Antwerp enquiring whether further clarification of the law would be desirable, perhaps in response to particular complaints or appeals, but in the end nothing happened, so existing regulations would seem to have been deemed satisfactory.<sup>60</sup>

In 1616 these same regulations were extended first (on 20 February) to all the lands under the jurisdiction of the Council of Brabant and then (on 11 March) to the Netherlands as a whole. On 14 March, to prevent any possible confusion, the archdukes confirmed the privileges of the Guild of St Luke in full.<sup>61</sup> From 1616, for the first time, the Netherlands had a unified and centralised legal code for the regulation of the book trade, independent of the heresy laws; a code which continued to provide the legal framework for royal regulation until 1764. As we will see below, the government's interest continued to go beyond setting regulatory limits: at times, there was active intervention in the propagation of particular views.

### Brussels and Antwerp

News was often international and highly mobile, usually being spread through European networks and sometimes highlighting emerging patterns of global commerce and communication. But the production and exchange of newsletters, news pamphlets and news reports took place at the level of the printer's shop, the newswriter's desk, the merchant's office, the scholar's study, and the

58 *ROPB. Règne d'Albert et Isabelle 1597–1621*, ed. Victor Brants, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1912), pp. 129–132.

59 ASKA, Archief Oud Sint-Lucasgilde, 93 (57\*); SAA, GA, box 4574, 'Recueil de pièces originales concernant la prétendue indépendance des imprimeurs et libraires'.

60 ARB, GRSP, 1276/351.

61 ASKA, Oud Archief Sint-Lucasgilde, 37 (64\*).

tavern, barbershop or coffee house. The most important intermediate level for early-modern communication is the city. Working in the field of translation studies, Anthony Pym has found that the places that intercultural mediators 'moved between were not nations, not cultures, not languages, but cities, mostly the largest cities of the day, the cities most open to intercultural comings, goings and mixings'.<sup>62</sup> Much the same can be said of early-modern news.

In the model conversations imagined for phrasebooks, discussion of news takes place as part of sociable intercourse in inns and at dinner tables, and is generally linked to an urban environment as the specific site of news. In a sixteenth-century Spanish-English phrasebook, the reader is taught that the Spanish for 'What newes do men report in this towne?' was 'Que dizen de nuevo en està villa?'<sup>63</sup> Similarly, an English-Dutch phrasebook from the beginning of the seventeenth century instructs the learner that the Dutch for 'What newes have you heard in the City?' is 'Wat nieus hebt ghy vernomen in de stat?'<sup>64</sup> The two cities that will be of most interest to the present work, the most important centres for news exchange and the production of printed news in the Habsburg Netherlands, are Brussels and Antwerp.<sup>65</sup>

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, Brussels was the epicentre of royal government in the Netherlands. In the sixteenth century Charles V had frequently held court in Brussels, and in 1544 the city could briefly boast of being home to seven crowned heads at once (including Mulay Hassan, the ousted king of Tunis). After Philip II's departure in 1559, apart from an interlude of autonomy under the sovereign archdukes Albert and Isabella (1598–1621), the king was represented in the person of a governor general, whose main residence was, from 1585 onwards, the ducal palace in Brussels. The household of the governor general was the central institution of royal rule in the Low Countries throughout much of the period.

Brussels was also home to the three main royal councils: the Council of State, composed of the great nobility of the country, which advised on matters

62 Anthony Pym, 'The Problem of Sovereignty in Regimes of European Literature Transfer', <<http://www.tinet.org/~apym/on-line/intercultures/sovereignty.html>>, last consulted 1 December 2012; first published in *New Comparison* 15 (1993), pp. 137–146.

63 William Stepney, *The Spanish Schoole-master* (London, 1591; facsimile reprint Scolar Press, 1971), p. 109.

64 Marten Le Mayre, *The Dutch Schoole-master* (London, 1606; facsimile reprint Scolar Press, 1974), sig. F4r.

65 Much of this section has already been published as part of 'Antwerp and Brussels as Inter-European Spaces in News Exchange', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Brendan Dooley (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, Vermont, 2010), pp. 193–205.

of policy; the Privy Council, where jurists decided legal and administrative matters; and the Council of Finance, which oversaw the whole operation of paying for the government, a business carried out through three Chambers of Accounts, one of which was also situated in Brussels.<sup>66</sup> At a provincial level, the Sovereign Council of Brabant, the supreme law court for Brabant, Limburg and 'the lands over the Maas' (corresponding to much of what is now the Dutch province of Limburg), usually held its sessions in Brussels,<sup>67</sup> and the States of Brabant, an assembly of the representatives of the duchy's clergy, nobility, and four chief cities (Leuven, Brussels, Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch), met in the city and maintained a permanent committee there. Finally, there was the government of the city itself, elected according to a system of power sharing between patrician lineages and craft guilds, with its own staff of clerks, officers, and pensionaries.<sup>68</sup> A pensionary was a lawyer on permanent retainer to advise and represent the city council, often a major public figure in his own right.

Another area of privileged power in the confessional state was the Church. There was at this date no cathedral in Brussels, and the minster, St Gudula's, was the most important church in the city. Although there was a separate court chapel, times of general celebration and mourning brought city, court and councils together in processions and ceremonies centred on St Gudula's. There were other parish churches and numerous monasteries, convents, chapels and hermitages in and around the city, increasing in number throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

The households of the high nobility (knights of the Fleece, grandees of Spain) and of the Spanish ambassador and the papal nuncio, were themselves miniature courts. Other satellite courts in the first decades of the seventeenth century were those of the Prince-Bishop of Liège (throughout this period a Bavarian Wittelsbach), the Duke of Neuburg, and the Count of Emden, all of whom spent a great deal of time in Brussels. The Brussels court itself, even more so than most, was a cosmopolitan institution, with many Spaniards and Italians, as well as Netherlands, Luxemburgers and Burgundians, a scattering of English, Irish and French exiles, and even the odd Hungarian or Pole. In the

66 Michel Baelde, *De Collaterale Raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531–1578): Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de centrale instellingen in de zestiende eeuw* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen. Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 60; Brussels, 1965).

67 Arthur Gaillard, *Le Conseil de Brabant: Histoire – Organisation – Procédure* (3 vols; Brussels, 1898–1902).

68 J. de Conde, *Costuymen ende rechten der stadt Brussel* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1657).

words of one of James I's emissaries, the city was 'verie populous, of all nations that are Catholick and civill, full of brave soldjers and men active for command, full of verie hansome women, and the best fashioned that can be, full of religious orders and houses'.<sup>69</sup>

The councils drew litigants and lawyers from throughout the 'Burgundian' domains and beyond. Charles IV's Golden Bull of 1349 granted Brabanders the privilege of only being sued within the duchy, a cause of resort of litigants to Brussels from the neighbouring principalities of the Empire.<sup>70</sup> Because of the court and councils, much French was spoken in Brussels, although the language of the civic and ecclesiastical institutions was still Dutch, the daily tongue of the natives of the city.<sup>71</sup> The steep hill crowned by the court and its park provided a clear geographical boundary between the French-speaking 'Burgundian' elite of the upper city, and the civic and provincial elites of the lower city—men such as Philip Numan (died 1617), secretary to the city council, who wrote in praise of Dutch as a literary language.<sup>72</sup> The combination in Brussels of royal councils and diplomatic representations in a city which was otherwise no more than an important provincial centre, and the language difference between the Dutch-speaking city and the French of the national institutions, augmented by Spanish and Italian at court, gave public life a mixed, and perhaps slightly schizophrenic character.

The city had some minor importance in trade and industry. Its international reputation was for the trades that relied heavily on the court and the nobility, particularly luxury textile products such as damask, camlets, lace, and above all tapestries, although several other luxury manufactures were established in the course of the early seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup> Brussels lay on the ancient road from the Rhineland to the Straits of Dover, and on one overland route from Paris to Antwerp and Holland. Since 1561 it had been linked by canal to the Rupel, a tributary of the Scheldt, and in the seventeenth century there were regular passenger barges between Brussels and Antwerp, their timetables printed in some almanacs.

69 Sir George Chaworth's diary of his embassy to Brussels in 1621, in Alfred John Kempe (ed.), *The Loseley Manuscripts* (London, 1836), p. 456.

70 Anselmo, *Placcaerten*, vol. 1, lib. 2, tit. 2, cap. 1, pp. 173–174.

71 Paul De Ridder, 'De Publicatieboeken van de stad Brussel en het taalgebruik in de "prince-lycke hoofdstadt van't Nederlandt" (1635–1793)', *ESDB*, 80 (1997), pp. 123–168.

72 Prefaced to Richard Verstegan's *Neder-duytsche epigrammen* (1617).

73 R. De Peuter, 'Industrial Development and De-Industrialization in Pre-Modern Towns: Brussels from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Provisional Survey', in H. Van der Wee (ed.), *The Rise and Decline of Urban Industries* (Leuven, 1988), pp. 213–240.

As headquarters of the Tassis postal service Brussels was an important centre for the transmission of news along international networks. But the Tassis family did not make it their main residence by chance: it was a significant source of news in its own right, and a city with a high demand for information. The importance of Brussels as a centre of culture, patronage and luxury trades relied on its position as the political centre of the Netherlands.

Antwerp, on the contrary, drew all its political strength from its importance in commerce and finance. The city suffered a serious slump in the years 1576–1588, but from 1589 the Exchange made a rapid recovery, and it held its own for almost half a century before Amsterdam's dominance was finally complete. This recovery, mirrored in many places in the loyal provinces, was all the more impressive given the picture of devastation throughout the Habsburg Netherlands in the 1580s: war in 1581–1585, pestilence 1585–1589, and famine 1587–1589—depopulation the inevitable result.<sup>74</sup> Antwerp's population was almost halved between 1580 and 1589, from around 80,000 to under 47,000; but the figure had again climbed to over 50,000 by 1600, and it continued to increase until stabilizing around 70,000 in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>75</sup> Even with only 50,000 inhabitants, Antwerp was a populous urban centre, in 1600 surpassed north of the Alps only by London, Amsterdam, Rouen and Paris.<sup>76</sup> But as the economic historian Herman Van der Wee stresses, with regard to the economy of the Habsburg Netherlands as a whole, 'It was no doubt an amazing come-back, urban as well as rural, but only a come-back none the less': there was no new growth.<sup>77</sup>

Far from sealing Antwerp's decline, the reconciliation of 1585 was ultimately instrumental in the city's economic recovery from a downturn that had already been in progress for a decade. It created new opportunities in finance, as Antwerp's Exchange became the main money market in the Spanish Monarchy's *asiento* system for payments to the Army of Flanders; and in commerce, as Antwerp's merchants could again openly trade with the Spanish Monarchy in Italy, Iberia, and, indirectly, the Indies.<sup>78</sup> Before 1576 Spanish

74 See Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 253–258; Thijs, *Geuzenstad*, p. 38.

75 R. Boumans, 'De demografische evolutie van Antwerpen', *Statistisch Bulletin* 34 (1948), pp. 1683–1693.

76 Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization* (London, 1984), pp. 270–278.

77 H. Van der Wee, 'Industrial Dynamics and the Process of Urbanization and De-urbanization in the Low Countries', in *The Rise and Decline of Urban Industries* (Leuven, 1988), p. 352.

78 E. Stols, 'De triomf van de exotica of de bredere wereld in de Nederlanden van de aartshertogen', in *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621*, edited by Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 294–295.

government finance had primarily relied on Spanish bankers; from 1586 a triangular relationship grew up between Madrid, Genoa and Antwerp, integrating the city into the Spanish Monarchy's system of public credit. Antwerp benefited from this, but was not dependent on it, as is shown by the swift recovery after the royal bankruptcy of 1596.<sup>79</sup> The diaspora of Antwerp's merchants to Holland, Germany, England and elsewhere, although diminishing the concentration of capital, created an extensive network of contacts for international trade.<sup>80</sup> Even the war itself provided opportunities to finance military pay and provisioning, or directly supply cash, bread, arms, cloth and ancillary services to the army. This was potentially a very lucrative business, but one with a high element of risk.<sup>81</sup> From 1601 the military authorities dealt with a single contractor for provisions, the *proveedor general*, but he in turn relied on a wider network of financiers and suppliers in order to meet his contractual obligations; similarly, the *asentista* who was the middleman between the financial markets and the military treasury was expected, from 1585, to provide payments part in cash and part in clothes—a benefit to Antwerp's clothing wholesalers as well as to cloth merchants and financiers.<sup>82</sup> English Catholic merchants such as Arthur Aynscombe and Lionel Wake sold thousands of pounds worth of cloth to the *asentista* Louis Clarisse, and Wake also sold cloth 'for the clothing of soldiers' directly to the government in Brussels.<sup>83</sup>

After 1589, Antwerp played a central role in the trade between Dutch, English and Northern German firms on the one side, and Iberian, Italian and South-Netherlandish on the other. In times of embargo, a whole system of camouflaged exchanges was developed, with correspondence under false names and addresses in Italy or England, and goods routed via Calais or Cologne.<sup>84</sup> Cargoes were not often transported in Antwerp bottoms, nor did they always touch Antwerp's quays, but there was an active *Dispositionshandel*: trade that did not pass through Antwerp but was financed and directed by the

79 Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, vol. 2 (The Hague, 1963), pp. 276–277.

80 Wilfrid Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw* (Brussels, 1959), pp. 452–457; M.A. Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels voor de koning* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 130–131.

81 Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels*, pp. 163–164; Finot, *Chambre des Comptes*, vol. 6, p. 103.

82 Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 162–164.

83 Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1 (Pro Civitate in-8° no. 45; 1976), p. 247; Finot, *Chambre des Comptes*, vol. 6, p. 119: 'pour l'habillement des soldats'.

84 Brulez, *Firma della Faille*, pp. 243–244.

city's merchant houses.<sup>85</sup> Nor was Antwerp's role as an intermediary between North and South confined to trade between Christians: the Portuguese *conversos* resident in Antwerp were a link between the Sephardim of Amsterdam and Hamburg, and the New Christians of Portugal and Spain.<sup>86</sup> The Antwerp Portuguese community as a whole, although it shrank dramatically from the 1570s onwards, still numbered between forty and fifty households in 1648.<sup>87</sup>

The continuing extent of Antwerp's role as a commercial entrepôt, as distinct from a money market, should also not be underestimated. The 'closing of the Scheldt' is a misleading formulation, for the Dutch blockade was a financial, not a physical barrier, comprising tolls, licences and trans-shipments, hindering trade but only prohibiting it in occasional years of embargo. The trade in silks through Antwerp was revived in the 1590s, having died out in the mid-1570s—a sign of considerable investment, given that silk was transported from Milan in armed convoys.<sup>88</sup> In the early seventeenth century there was a flourishing trade in furniture, paintings, books and engravings, tapestries, lace, Italian silk, English wool and unfinished cloth, local cloth (dyed and undyed), German ticking and ribbons, soap made locally from Spanish olive oil, diamonds from Goa, sugar from Brazil, tropical dyes, French wine and Italian rice.<sup>89</sup>

Merchants engaged in any of the activities outlined—financial exchanges, *Dispositionshandel*, transit trade, the importation of consumer commodities, production for export or buying for export—needed accurate and speedy information of international affairs if they were to operate with any measure of success. One of the new techniques of sixteenth-century commerce was frequent correspondence with partners and factors, exchanging not just commercial information, but news of anything which might affect exchange rates, the costs of commodities, the costs and risks of transport, the level of taxes, the opening of new markets or the interruption of regular patterns of trade. This is why, in the years around 1600, Antwerp was one of Europe's greatest centres of news exchange.

85 Van der Wee, *Growth of the Antwerp Market*, vol. 2, pp. 281–282.

86 E. Stols, 'Aspects de la vie culturelle aux Pays-Bas espagnols', p. 217.

87 Ebben, *Zilver, brood en kogels*, p. 130.

88 Brulez, *Firma della Faille*, p. 247; Karel Degryse & John Everaert, 'De handel', in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, p. 124.

89 E. Stols, 'Handel-, geld- en bankwezen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', in *NAGN*, vol. 7 (Haarlem, Antwerp, etc., 1980), pp. 131–134; Degryse & Everaert, 'De handel', pp. 111–113.



## Newsletters and Printed News, 1585–1620

As has already been mentioned above, the newspaper that Abraham Verhoeven began printing in 1620 drew on at least four traditions of communication: the newsletter, the news pamphlet, the print, and the almanac chronicle. This chapter will describe each of these in more detail.

### Posts and Newsletters

Across Europe, merchants' factors, private intelligencers and diplomatic agents spent much of their time writing reports on recent events, an activity which, like pamphlet printing, began in the fifteenth century but grew considerably around the middle of the sixteenth. By the seventeenth century it was a commonplace that 'there is a kinde of politicall necessitie among Princes, to watch the affaires of one another'.<sup>1</sup> Merchants were under a similar necessity, as an English newspaper editor explained in the 1640s: 'it is requisite for Marchants, and for those that travell beyond Sea, or upon the Sea, to know (as neere as intelligence can be given) what forces are upon the Seas, and where the Armies quarter, that they may prevent many dangers'.<sup>2</sup> Given these needs, it was only natural that all the princely courts and great trading cities of Western Christendom should be linked by formal and informal information networks. Regular exchange of letters, however, was impeded by the irregularity of postal communications.

The wealthiest could employ couriers to bear messages great distances, but the high cost prohibited the use of special couriers for all but the most necessary communications. For more mundane purposes the two systems of public carriage available were those of 'ordinary posts' and of 'common carriers'. In the second half of the sixteenth century a number of guidebooks were published that advised travellers on the routes to take to get from one part of Europe to another, and these routes are usually in some way described as postal. That is to say, the itineraries describe the transport infrastructure of postal communications, without giving any clue as to their organisation or

<sup>1</sup> *The Belgick Souldier* (Dordrecht, 1624), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Exchange Intelligencer* 1645 no. 1 (15 May), quoted in Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford, 1996), p. 145.

frequency. In Italy, a much-reprinted book entitled *Poste per diverse parti del mondo* appeared in Rome in 1562.<sup>3</sup> Its compilation and revision have been attributed to the Genoese postmaster, Giovanni da L'Herba, and the postmaster of Perugia, Cherubino della Stella. In Germany Jörg Gail put together *Ein neuwes nützliches Reißbüchlin* (a new useful travel book), published in Augsburg in 1563.<sup>4</sup> In England Richard Rowlands (later to adopt the name Richard Verstegan) brought out *The Post of the World* (London, 1576).<sup>5</sup> There may well have been other such books—indeed, there certainly were, since Verstegan based his work on an unidentified German original that was not Gail's *Reißbüchlin*. The genre persisted into the nineteenth century, and is not dissimilar to the driving directions now available from such online providers as Michelin or Google Maps. As a typical example of a route from such a work, consider the itinerary 'From Paris to London by the way of Rye' as given in James Wadsworth's *The European Mercury* (1641):<sup>6</sup>

From Paris to Pontwaize, 3 Stages. leg. [leagues] 7.

From Pontw. to Mennie, 3 Stages. leg. 7.

From Mannie to Eque, 3 Stages. leg. 7.

From Eque to Rhoan leg. 6.

From Rhoan to Tote leg. 6.

From Tote to Deepe leg. 6.

From Deepe in Normandy by Sea to Rye leg. 30.

From Rye to the Redhouse. m. [miles] 18.

From the Redhouse to Cheapstead m. 18.

From Cheapstead to London, m. 18.

The route is therefore: Paris—Pontoise—Magny-en-Vexin—Écouis—Rouen—Tôtes—Dieppe—Rye—The Red House (presumably an inn or post house)—Chipstead (near Sevenoaks)—London. Typical landmarks in such guides were towns, villages, castles, inns and, in Catholic areas, monasteries.

3 A scan of the Austrian National Library's copy of the Venice 1564 edition (shelfmark 41.Z.58) is available on Google Books at [books.google.com/books?id=NDISAAAACAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=NDISAAAACAAJ).

4 Reprinted as Herbert Kruger (ed.), *Das älteste deutsche Routenhandbuch. Jörg Gails 'Reißbüchlin'* (Graz, 1974).

5 Facsimile reprint as *The Post for Divers Parties of the World* (The English Experience 889; Amsterdam, 1977).

6 J.W. Gent, *The European Mercury. Describing the Highwayes and Stages from place to place, through the most remarkable parts of Christendome* (London: I.R. for H. Twyford, 1641).

Mapping the itineraries described by L'Herba/Stella, Gail, and Rowlands shows at least something of the communications infrastructure of mid- to late-sixteenth-century Europe. One of the most obvious things about them is that they describe a system with considerable redundancy. L'Herba/Stella give one route from Rome to Bologna via Viterbo, Siena and Florence, and another from Rome to Bologna via Urbino, Rimini and Faenza. One route from Milan to Venice ran through Lodi, Cremona, Mantua and Padua, while another ran through Brescia, Verona, Vicenza and Padua. Similarly, both Gail and Rowlands provide various different routes simply to get from Augsburg to Nuremberg. Some of these alternatives may have been preferable for different forms of transport (avoiding steep inclines with waggons, for instance), while others may have enabled travellers to avoid the tolls or customs duties, staple rights and rights of reprisal of one jurisdiction or another.

Taken all together, these itineraries show an extensive infrastructure of roads with considerable flexibility of routes, reaching from Vilnius in the north-east to Seville in the south-west; from Berwick in the north to Messina and Otranto in the south (Map 1). But postal communication required more than roads. To 'post' had the specific meaning of to ride by a series of remounts, which meant a physical infrastructure of inns and relay stables, a personnel both of commissaries at the stages and of postal riders to travel between them, and a legal framework to allow and to safeguard such activities.

Humanistic jurists traced the legal justification for a royal postal system to ancient Rome, where the *cursus publicus* provided a means of speedily conveying imperial messages and officials to and from the provinces.<sup>7</sup> This made the licensing of postal carriers, and the territorial location of posting stations, issues of sovereignty. Treaties between different jurisdictions facilitated passage of postal messengers without ceding sovereign rights. There was, however, one very important difference between Roman and early-modern postal services. The Roman *cursus publicus* was public in the sense that it was reserved to official business. The sending of personal and commercial correspondence had to be arranged through personal contacts or commercial messenger services.

Carrying messages by 'post', that is, by a series of remounts provided at fixed intervals, was generally considered a privilege of the sovereign. In the Marquis of Caracena's words, the posts were 'notoriously regal'.<sup>8</sup> Where there were royal posts, their services were not always open to private individuals. In England,

7 *Corpus Iuris Civilis Iustinianeus Universum*, edited by Dionysius Gothofredus ([Geneva]: Johannem Vignon, 1620), 725–727.

8 *OED*, 'post' I.1.; *Acten van Accommodement* (Brussels, Huybrecht Anthoon Velpius, 1659).



where the system of posting stables was used to provide remounts for royal messengers, no regular carriage of general mail was maintained, and private messages had to wait at the post house until a royal despatch rider happened to pass that way.<sup>9</sup> Where there were regular posts that provided a service to the general public, as with the Tassis posts between Italy and the Netherlands, the service was repeatedly disrupted by warfare, legal entanglements and the failure of royal subsidies.<sup>10</sup>

From the 1590s onwards, and indeed throughout the seventeenth century, there was a constant improvement in the postal and carrier services available to the general public. Unable to maintain royal posts by subsidy alone, governments increasingly made them public in the sense of being open to members of the paying public. Those licensed by the emperor and the Italian principalities, and in the course of the seventeenth century those licensed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, and by the Dutch States General, held lucrative national monopolies on riding post. The carriage of letters by non-state actors, or at least by those not licensed by the state, was increasingly discouraged, and the development of royal or national posts was to lead to conflicts with those corporate bodies that had been licensing privileged messengers since the Middle Ages: towns and guilds, universities and religious orders.

Attempts to restrict postal privileges to the sovereign can be seen not only in carriage of letters, but also in blowing of post horns. The post horn had three purposes. In the first place, it was a signal to a postal relay to get a change of horses ready. Secondly, when the post was travelling by night it was a signal to the guards of a town to open a gate, otherwise shut until morning.<sup>11</sup> Thirdly, even when silent it was part of the insignia of the postal messenger, identifying him (more visibly than the badge worn on the left shoulder) as a privileged individual who should not be interfered with in the execution of his duty. It was the second of these that was invoked in a decree of September 1609 reiterating the sixteenth-century prohibition of blowing the post horn by those not authorized to do so either by royal warrant or by deputisation of the warrant holder.<sup>12</sup>

9 J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post* (London & Toronto, 1967), pp. 58, 82.

10 E.J.B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service* (The Hague, 1972), pp. 11–12.

11 Although one Dutch writer on postal history reported that as late as 1800 he had seen the Hamburg watch haul postbags over the town walls with a pulley, the gates not even opening for the post. J.C.W. Le Jeune, *Het Brieven-postwezen in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1851), p. 82 footnote.

12 Jan Baptiste Christyn, *Placcaeten, Ordonnantien, Landt-chartres, Privilegien ende Instructien by de Princen van dese Neder-landen Uytghegheven, geaccordeert, ende verleent*, vol. 3 (Brussels, Huybrecht Anthoon Velpius, 1664), lib. 2, tit. 2, cap. 2, pp. 209–211.

One of the most informative itineraries and guides to postal services was Ottavio Codogno's much-reprinted *Compendio delle Poste*, alternatively titled *Nuovo itinerario delle Poste* (first printed in Milan in 1608, but cited here from the 1623 edition). Codogno, who was deputy postmaster general of the state of Milan, distinguishes 'ordinary posts' from courier and messenger services, even those operating under royal licences, that were not organized according to a system of regular departures. This was another important innovation of the Baroque period. The royal postal services of Renaissance France and England were designed to carry royal messages as and when necessary. Paying customers could entrust their letters to the royal posts, but would have to wait until a royal messenger passed that way before they would be taken any further. The 'public posts' of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire were not only open to the paying public, they also had regular departure schedules.<sup>13</sup>

In his guide, Codogno accordingly went beyond providing itineraries (like those of his sixteenth-century predecessors) and included timetables as well.<sup>14</sup> On a Saturday evening, postal messengers left Rome heading for Milan, Venice, Genoa, Naples and Sicily. Every Wednesday postal riders left Milan for Rome, Turin, Venice and Genoa, with further departures for Venice and for Turin on Saturdays and for Genoa on Sundays. All the cities of Italy were networked by 'ordinary posts' (*ordinarie*) with regular days of departure and remounts at fixed intervals, by occasional couriers (*messagieri*), by foot posts (*pedoni*), and by waggon and packhorse services (sometimes amounting to cavalcades of travellers and goods) provided by what Codogno calls *precacci*. From the early sixteenth century onwards, these Italian networks had been linked to the Holy Roman Empire, the Low Countries, and Spain, by services dominated by the Tassis (or Taxis) family, who had originated in the area around Bergamo.<sup>15</sup> In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Polish royal posts were networked to the international public posts by Florentine merchants based in Cracow (from 1583, after a short-lived attempt in the 1560s) and in Lviv (from 1629).<sup>16</sup>

13 A strong case for the extent to which this 'revolutionized' communications is made in Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003).

14 Luisa Bertoni, 'Codogno (Cotogno), Ottavio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 26 (1982).

15 Martin Dallmeier, 'Die Thurn und Taxis in den spanisch-österreichischen Niederlanden (Belgien): Herkunft—Aufstieg—Repräsentation und Besitzungen', in *De post van Thurn und Taxis / La poste des Tour et Tassis: 1489–1794*, edited by Luc Janssens and Marc Meurrens (Brussels, 1992), pp. 43–67.

16 Jan Pirozynski, 'Die Stellung der polnischen Metropolen im europäischen Nachrichtenverkehr des 16. Jahrhunderts', in Andrea Langer and Georg Michels (eds), *Metropolen*

The physical constraints of ‘riding post’ were tight. Telecommunication, the long-distance sending of messages faster than a man could carry them, was imaginable but rarely feasible. There were speculations and projections about the use of relays of cannons, magnets and mirrors to carry messages over long distances at great speed. Pigeons could be used for small messages; beacons for a plain warning of impending danger. A more complex message could in theory be sent from one beacon hill to the next using two torches to spell out letters in a sort of semaphore.<sup>17</sup> Other schemes of the time involved harnessing the powers of angels or of occult ‘sympathy’.<sup>18</sup> None of these could yet replace the posts. Once a postal system was instituted, the only ways to shave time off any given run were maintaining the road, optimizing the spacing of remounts, buying fit horses of good breed, and employing experienced riders. These remained the essential desiderata from the early sixteenth century, when the system began to be elaborated, to the mid-nineteenth century, when the telegraph, the railways and the steamer were to shrink distances in a way that seventeenth-century letter-writers had only dreamt of.<sup>19</sup>

In the early eighteenth century a private individual in The Hague writing a letter to Vienna that required an immediate response could not expect a reply within 27 days. The run to Vienna was 10 or 11 days, the run back was 9 or 10 days, but letters had to wait for the next weekly departure, both in Vienna itself and along the way either in Cologne or in Maaseik, in what is now Belgian Limburg, where the imperial posts connected to the Dutch posts. In 1745, when the *Reichspost* instituted a daily service on the route from Brussels to Vienna via Cologne, Frankfurt, Nuremberg and Regensburg, the time was brought down to 23 days.<sup>20</sup> From 27 days to 23 was a considerable improvement, but at a cost that demonstrates the inelasticity of the system: a sevenfold increase in the number of departures. Even with changes of horses and riders, it was

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*und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert: Prag—Krakau—Danzig—Wien* (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des Östlichen Mitteleuropa 12; Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 101–110; Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Sebastiano Montelupi, toscano, mercante e maestro della posta reale di Cracovia* (Quaderni di storia postali 13, 1989).

17 John Wilkins, *Mercury: Or the Secret and Swift Messenger. Shewing, how a Man May with Privacy and Speed communicate his Thoughts to a Friend at any distance* (second edition, London, 1694), pp. 156–166.

18 Joad Raymond, *Milton’s Angels: The Early-Modern Imagination* (Oxford, 2010), p. 109; Bruce Gordon, ‘The Renaissance Angel’, in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, edited by Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 58–59; Wilkins, *Mercury*, pp. 118–122 (angels), 147–148 (sympathy).

19 Le Jeune, *Brieven-postwezen*, p. 37 and footnote.

20 Le Jeune, *Brieven-postwezen*, pp. 38–39.

simply not possible for ordinary postbags to travel the 1500 mile (over 2000 km) trip from The Hague to Vienna and back in under three weeks.

The system of regular weekly posts detailed by Codogno covered large parts of Europe, with weekly departures from Rome, Milan and Venice to Cologne and Brussels, and from Venice to Vienna and from Milan to Lindau and Prague. There were also less frequent services, with fortnightly departures from Italy for Lyon, and monthly departures for Spain. Private messenger services in southern France, and ships travelling between Genoa and Barcelona, provided more immediate alternatives to the public postal services.

From Venice there was a monthly service to Constantinople, with a postal frigate to the Venetian town of Cattaro (Kotor) on the Montenegrin coast of the Adriatic, whence Montenegrin couriers would carry the mail overland across the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>21</sup> Letters for Anatolia, Syria and Egypt could be forwarded by this service. There was no regular post to Malta, but post addressed via Palermo or Messina would be entrusted to the vessels of the Knights of Malta when they put in, which they did frequently. From Naples there were weekly overland services to Otranto, in the heel of Italy, where there were trans-Adriatic connections to the Venetian/Montenegrin postal service in Cattaro, and services for Ragusa and Corfu. Although Codogno makes no mention of it, the connection between the two maritime republics of Ancona (under papal patronage) and Ragusa (under Ottoman protection) provided a rival to the Venetian communications link to the Ottoman Balkans. Nor does Codogno mention that the Venetians even provided postal carriage on an overland route from Aleppo, in Syria, to Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, by way of Basra and Baghdad.<sup>22</sup>

Within Europe, Codogno provided information about forwarding messages through the posts: somebody in Rome writing to a correspondent in Austria, Hungary, Slavonia or Dalmatia, should send the message via Venice. The ordinary leaving Milan for Prague on a Wednesday night would travel via Mantua, Brixen, Innsbruck, Munich, Augsburg, Regensburg and Pilsen (Plzeň), and could be entrusted with letters 'for all of Bavaria and Poland, for Salzburg, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Constance, Rheinhausen, and Nancy in Lorraine'.<sup>23</sup>

21 Codogno, *Compendio*, pp. 212–213, 454–455. On the Montenegrin aspect of this service, see Eric R. Dursteler, 'Power and Information: The Venetian Postal System in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean, 1573–1645', in *From Florence to the Mediterranean: Studies in Honor of Anthony Molho*, edited by Diego Curto, Eric Dursteler, Julius Kirshner, and Francesca Trivellato (Florence, 2009), pp. 601–623.

22 Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 143.

23 'Il Mercordi notte ordinariamente per l'Ordinario per Praga, e si rimettono a Mantova, ove si giuntano con quelle, che vengono di Roma, e si scrive per Trento, Presenone, Insprugh,



He did warn that while letters to Prague and Vienna could be paid for on delivery, post to be forwarded to Poland and Hungary had to be pre-paid.

Nor was the communications system that Codogno describes limited to Europe and the Mediterranean. While admitting that the messengers 'cannot be called ordinaries, given the length of time between sailings',<sup>24</sup> he provided information about the annual fleets that left Lisbon for Goa on 20 March each year, sailing by way of the Canaries, Manicongo, the Cape of Good Hope and Sao Lourenço. Letters from Milan for China, Java, Ceylon, Sumatra, Palawan, Malacca, Bago, Pedir, Timor and Ormuz should be posted by the end of January to hope to make Lisbon in time for the fleet's departure. Likewise, letters for Cuba, Hispaniola, Florida, Terra Firma and Peru would have to be posted in late April or early May to make the 30 June sailing from Seville for New Spain.<sup>25</sup>

Even this cursory introduction to the European postal systems of the early seventeenth century is enough to see why weekly publication was the norm for early-modern newspapers, with monthly publication in Spain, and the publication of annual letters from the Jesuit missions in the East and West Indies. It is an element in explaining not only the frequency of publication, but also the strategies of subscription to newswriting services. Those places networked by regular ('ordinary') postal services could be relied upon to provide regular news, so those are the places that are best represented as news centres in the printed press. Since the centres networked by the posts were in any case major centres of trade and diplomacy, the issue of causation is hard to pin down precisely, but as will be described below, established centres of trade and politics that were not networked by regular posts generally only became regular sources of press reports once they had been.

The same is true of those providing manuscript newsletters in the decades before the invention of the newspaper. The *Fuggerzeitungen* show that Antwerp, Cologne, Venice and Rome were (at least from the perspective of Augsburg) the major information centres of the period 1568–1605.<sup>26</sup> It can hardly be a coincidence that these cities were linked to Augsburg by the most

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Monaco, Augusta, Ratisbona, Pilsna, e Praga, ove si rimettono le lettere per tutta la Baviera, & Polonia, per Salzburgh, Strozburgh, Francfort, Costanza, Reinausen, e Nansi di Lorena'. Codogno, *Compendio*, p. 458. This is presumably Rheinhausen in Breisgau.

24 'Questi non si possono dire Ordinarij, così per la distanza del tempo del partire, & della lunghezza del camino, quanto anco perche vanno per mare', *Compendio*, p. 489.

25 Codogno, *Compendio*, p. 457.

26 Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung: Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das früh-moderne Nachrichtensystem* (Colloquia Augustana 28; Berlin, 2011), pp. 63–68.

important postal route of Europe, the post road from Trent to the Rhineland. The post roads from Venice and Rome converged at Trent, ran over the Alps and through Innsbruck and Augsburg to the Rhineland, where one route branched off to Brussels (whence there were daily services to Antwerp), while another ran to Cologne. Each of these cities was at the heart of its own information network, with its own particular strengths and weaknesses, but they were all connected to one another on a weekly basis by the passing of postal messengers up and down this route.

Some places on the post road from Brussels to Rome are now so small that they are hard to find on a map at all. Nevertheless, these were important landmarks in early-modern travel and transport. Flamisoul, now a cluster of half a dozen houses in the Belgian province of Luxembourg, was once the location of a postal relay and interchange. Couriers from the cities of Luxembourg and Trier would travel here to make the connection to the main international postal run to Rheinhausen, south of Speyer on the opposite bank of the Rhine, which was once a major river crossing and another postal interchange. Nösslach is now the last lay-by before the Brenner Pass on the E45 motorway; on the old packhorse and post horse road, the last hostelry and relay was in the little town of Steinach am Brenner. The bridge at Centeno, a tiny village off the SS2 in the province of Viterbo, was once known to international travellers as the border crossing where the main international post road entered the papal states (it is still the border of Toscana and Lazio). The first (or last) postal relay and customs house on Roman rather than Tuscan soil, it features as Pontecentino in countless itineraries and travel writings from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.

The same is of course true of other routes. In Spain, Ariza, with a population now a little over a thousand, by-passed by the *Autovia de nordeste*, features in the *Poste per diverse parti del mondo* as ‘Harizza, Terra grossa’—not only a landmark along the way but even the point of departure for one of the routes. An imposing castle, once a stronghold on the border of Aragon and Castile, stands over the village, controlling the junction where the road from Saragossa to Madrid meets the road from Valladolid to Saragossa. While a great many of the nodes linked by modern motorway networks are the same great cities that were connected by early-modern postal services (the industrial areas of the Midlands and the North of England, and the German *Ruhrgebiet*, are the main exceptions), many of the most important wayplaces between them have sunk into obscurity with changing modes of transport.

Antwerp’s decline was not as steep as that of Flamisoul, Centeno or Ariza, but the city was certainly far less important by the end of the seventeenth century than it had been at the beginning. In 1600 Antwerp was still one of the key

information interchanges in Europe, as well as a financial centre, and, thanks to the great citadel that the Duke of Alva had built on the southern edge of the city, one of the main centres of Habsburg military might. Money moved between Genoa and Antwerp, in the form of letters of exchange carried by special couriers. Soldiers moved between Milan and Antwerp, marching along the Spanish Road through Switzerland and Lorraine. Information flowed through Venice, by the weekly posts. This was not to the liking of the Habsburgs, whose relationship with Venice was far less friendly than with Genoa, an ally, or Milan, a subject state. To the Spanish monarchy, the posts that carried commercial and political correspondence were as vital as the roads and shipping lanes that carried troops and munitions.<sup>27</sup> Efforts were made to make Milan,<sup>28</sup> or at least Mantua, the southern end of the communication corridor to Antwerp, but Codogno lamented that many merchants from Genoa continued to send their letters to Flanders via Venice, even though Archduke Albert's investment in the service between Brussels and Mantua had made it faster and cheaper to use the Milanese posts to Mantua and by-pass Venice entirely.<sup>29</sup> Such pleas fell on deaf ears: Venice's stature as an information interchange was unassailable.

Antwerp was the northernmost terminus of the 'ordinary' postal services that Codogno described in detail from the perspective of a southern European and a Habsburg loyalist.<sup>30</sup> Codogno did, however, give instructions as to how to send messages beyond the system that he himself served:

Should you wish to write to the States of Holland, that is The Hague, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Gelre, Zutphen, Arnhem and Nijmegen, or further to Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund and Novgorod, do so by way of the merchants of Antwerp.<sup>31</sup>

27 Miguel Angel Echevarría Bacigalupe, *La diplomacia secreta en Flandes, 1598–1643* (Universidad del País Vasco, 1984), pp. 54–56.

28 Bruno Caizzi, 'Il Corriere Maggiore dello Stato di Milano da Simone Tasso all' avocazione della regalia', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 111:2 (1985), pp. 142–144. In 1638 Serra sold the postmastership to Paolo Francesco.

29 Codogno, *Compendio*, p. 466.

30 Ottavio Codogno, *Compendio delle Poste* (Milan: Gio. Battista Bidelli, 1623), pp. 122–291 and 423–500 *passim*.

31 'Et volendo scrivere per li Stati d'Hollanda, cioè per Haia, Dordrech, Haerlem, Roterdam, Delft, Leiden, Olanda [*sic*], Amsterdam, Utrech, Della Gheldria, Zutphen, Armen [*sic*], & Nimega, & anco per Lubecco, Rostoc, Vismar, Stralsunda, e Novogardia, inviatele a' negotianti d'Anversa'. Codogno, *Compendio*, p. 428.

This is the only indication he provides that Antwerp, a city he describes as 'abundant with merchants',<sup>32</sup> was not just a terminus but also the junction of two different communication systems. More than a junction, it was a place of overlap, duplication, and so to some extent of rivalry and contestation between two ways of having messages delivered.

Antwerp's international messenger services were the hinge between Central and Atlantic Europe, Catholic and Protestant lands. There were daily services between Antwerp and Brussels, and thence weekly services both to Paris and along the main route to northern Italy; there were also services to Dunkirk, and thence by sea to London, and to Lisbon, Seville and the ports of northern Spain.<sup>33</sup> From 1586 until his death in 1610, Charles de Tassis was postmaster of Antwerp. He was an illegitimate half-brother of postmaster general Jean-Baptist de Tassis, and like the postmasters Jakob Hennot in Cologne, Matthias Sultzer in Frankfurt or Octavio Tassis in Augsburg, he treated the office as his personal fief, passing it on to his son, Maximilian, at his death.<sup>34</sup> A protracted legal battle with the imperial postmaster general ensued, and from 1613 to 1614 the disputed post office was managed by a court-appointed 'sequestor', Jan-Baptist Roelants.<sup>35</sup> Only from 1615 were there again reliable regular posts in Antwerp.

Alongside the royal posts, there was the extensive system of merchant carriers referenced by Codogno, in Antwerp called *coopmansboden*, often operating in direct competition with the Tassis company. These carriers, based at the Exchange, operated under licence from the city.<sup>36</sup> Being forbidden from 'riding post', they provided a slower service but had the advantage of low overheads and adaptability: the posting stations made the Tassis service fast, but were also expensive and tied it to a specific road. Carriers travelling on foot, by waggon or by boat could change their route according to the weather, the state of the road,

32 'Città copiosa de negotianti'. Codogno, *Compendio*, p. 498.

33 Even without regular correspondence, the cross-channel packets brought passengers bearing news, e.g. 'Eenige die met het Engelsch schip, dat alle weken hier comt, overcomen, willen seggen...' (Some who have come over with the English ship that arrives here each week report that...), Dunkirk (19 Sept.), *OP* 1639 no. 46 (23 Sept.).

34 Wolfgang Behringer, 'Brussel, Centrum van het internationale postnet', translated by G. Van Cauwenberge, in *De Post van Thurn und Taxis*, edited by Luc Janssens & Marc Meurrens (Brussels, 1992), pp. 34–36; Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1921), p. 78.

35 Maarten Coppens, Piet De Gryse, James Van Der Linden & Leo De Clercq, *De post te Antwerpen van aanvang tot 1793* (Antwerp, 1993), pp. 67–70.

36 P. Voeten, 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het handelsleven te Antwerpen tijdens de eerste jaren van het Twaalfjarig Bestand (1609–1612)' (unpublished licence thesis, Leuven, 1954), p. 48.

and other eventualities.<sup>37</sup> The city claimed the customary privilege of licensing a carrier service, open to paying customers, to Cologne, Nuremberg and Frankfurt. This was a source of litigation from the moment the Antwerp branch of the Tassis company was re-established in 1586. In 1587 the Privy Council decreed that the carriers were not infringing the Tassis monopoly as long as they did not ride post or deviate from their customary routes, but this judgement was challenged by the Tassis family every time their own privileges were renewed.<sup>38</sup>

By 1609, Antwerp's magistrates had also licensed carriers to Paris, London and Calais, as well as destinations within the Habsburg Netherlands.<sup>39</sup> Packets to Spain could be sent to Paris by an Antwerp carrier, forwarded to Bordeaux with the Parisian carrier, and then taken from Bordeaux to Spain by Spanish carriers, competing with the Tassis family's direct but infrequent and not always reliable Spanish service.<sup>40</sup> In 1609, after the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, Antwerp's magistrates went on to licence carriers to Dordrecht, to Emden via Groningen, to Rotterdam, to Hamburg and to Amsterdam, and after a year of legal wrangling with the Tassis company, the Council of Brabant upheld their right to do so.<sup>41</sup> Thus vindicated, the city issued licences for Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, Middelburg and Liège. On 19 March 1611 four more carriers were licensed to travel between Antwerp and Liège.<sup>42</sup> That Codogno had mentioned many of these destinations as early as 1608 suggests that the licenses were only formalising existing practises.

Antwerp was thus at the heart of two different international mail services, both carrying messages to Paris, London and the towns of Germany, one also carrying to Holland and Zeeland, the other also to Italy, Spain and Portugal. All post from the Northern Netherlands to Spain, England or France passed through Antwerp, as did almost all post from England to the Continent, and much of that from Germany to Spain.<sup>43</sup> Antwerp so dominated the postal services from Germany and the Low Countries to England that in 1632 the London intelligencer John Pory wrote to a client that 'touching forraine newes, we can

37 M. Coppens & P. De Gryse, 'De Antwerpse stadsboden', in *Liber alumnorum Karel Van Isacker s.j. (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 63, 1980), p. 152.

38 Marc Meurrens, 'De stadsboden', in *De Post van Thurn und Taxis*, ed. Janssens & Meurrens, pp. 76–81.

39 Voeten, 'Bijdrage', p. 50.

40 Voeten, 'Bijdrage', p. 53.

41 Coppens et al., p. 42; Coppens, 'Hans Thieullier', in *NBW*, vol. 9 (1981), col. 750; Voeten, pp. 49–50.

42 Voeten, p. 50.

43 J.C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het postwezen in Nederland vóór 1795 met de voornaamste verbindingen met het buitenland* (Leiden, 1902), pp. 229, 250.

have but very little, or none at all, [...] because it is nowe a fortnight since we had any post from Andwerpe'—just as he had written months earlier, 'here hath come no post of Andwerp since this day fortnight, and so consequently little or no newes out of Germany'.<sup>44</sup>

The density of communications within the Habsburg Netherlands is indicated by a document drawn up in 1618 or 1619 by Fr Damiaan Pletz, secretary to the Provincial of the Flemish Capuchins. This is a list of the public carrier services between all the towns in which there was a Capuchin convent: Bruges, Veurne, St-Winoxbergen, Mechelen, Leuven, Maastricht, Ypres, Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent; Pletz also included Nieuwpoort and Dunkirk, where there was no convent, presumably because of their shipping connections.<sup>45</sup> According to Pletz, carriers left Antwerp for Brussels daily, for Mechelen and Ghent 'almost daily' ('bynae alle daghe'), for Lille via St-Winoxbergen and Ypres three days per week, for Tournai twice a week, and for Oudenaarde every Friday. The city of Antwerp did not licence carriers to Bruges, Leuven and Maastricht, but carriers from these towns travelled to Antwerp and carried back messages—in the case of Bruges, three times each week. Besides the busy criss-crossing of 'ordinaries' and 'carriers', Pletz identified waggoners, poulterers and yeastmen who regularly carried messages on their commercial rounds. Unmentioned are the private couriers of lords, abbeys, colleges and great merchant houses.

The developing system of interconnecting weekly posts enabled the merchants and princes of Europe to receive regular weekly reports from their agents across Europe, reports which often had a certain measure of the newspaper's 'public' character. The purpose of permanent diplomatic agents was to facilitate the flow of information between governments, at the basest level to spy on their hosts and to put out their home government's version of events abroad. If a piece of news was likely to be known sooner or later anyway to the councillors and great nobles, it would only increase the standing of a diplomat or his secretaries to be the first to have passed it on to 'friends' at a foreign court.<sup>46</sup> Secrets of state were not bandied about lightly, but within a fairly wide circle of councillors and courtiers, there were few real secrets. Information was the coinage of power brokering, and while it was not to be spent too prodigally it lost its value if not passed on while current.

44 John Pory to John Scudamore, London, 13 Oct. 1632 old style, in William S. Powell (ed.), *John Pory, 1572–1636. The Life and Writings of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 306; same to same, 18 Feb. 1632 old style, *ibid.*, p. 213.

45 Reproduced in P. Hildebrand, 'Vlaamse boden in 1618–1619', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 32 (1949), pp. 44–47.

46 See also Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit* (Göttingen, 1994), p. 94.

Merchants faced the same dilemma. They would not gossip freely about the balances of their ledgers, but it was a signal mark of rudeness not to share ‘public’ information with one’s colleagues, and merchants’ newsletters would be read out at the Exchange, or passed around in inns at the great marts and annual fairs.<sup>47</sup> The distinction between the information which could be passed on freely as the currency of social intercourse, and that which could only be whispered in confidence to an ally, led to the development of two genres, one printed and one manuscript: price currents and newsletters.

A price current was an official weekly list of the main commodity prices or exchange rates in a selection of markets. The oldest known such publication was the *Corso di piu sorte mercantie* printed in Antwerp, which survives from 1585 but existed as early as August 1540.<sup>48</sup> Such price lists circulated to various commercial centres, and bankers’ letters giving rates of exchange were transmitted on a weekly basis between different offices. By 1620 there were commodity price or exchange rate currents being printed in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Danzig, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Florence, Piacenza, Venice, Genoa, Lisbon and London.<sup>49</sup> By 1640, at the latest, the list could be extended to Bologna, Bolzano, Livorno, Naples, Novi, Verona, Bordeaux and Lille. Such publications are plain lists of words and figures, quite opaque to the uninitiated and remarkably similar to the stock-market and exchange-rate listings in a modern financial newspaper.

The newsletter, sometimes called an *avviso* or a *gazette*, was not so narrowly limited to a single type of information. These were manuscript newspapers, containing nothing but the public news written out anonymously under the heading of the place and date of origin of the report provided. At the risk of anachronism (since the word only came into use as telegraphy jargon in the 1880s), this place-date heading will here be called the ‘dateline’ of a report.<sup>50</sup> The trade in such newsletters was enormous, with professional newswriters in

47 *Anatomie van Calviniste Calumnien* (n.p. [Antwerp], 1622), preface; *Advis des Marchands de la Bourse d'Anvers* (n.p. [Antwerp], 1632). See also Francesca Trivellato, ‘Merchant Letters across Geographical and Cultural Boundaries’, in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Francesco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 80–103.

48 John J. McCusker, ‘The Role of Antwerp in the Emergence of Commercial and Financial Newspapers’, in *Cities and the Transmission of Cultural Values* (Crédit Communal Collection Histoire in-8° no. 96; 1996), pp. 304–305, 310.

49 John J. McCusker & Cora Gravesteyn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam, 1991), *passim*.

50 OED, s.v. dateline.

all the major cities copying them out in whole or in part, collating them, commenting on their reliability in the light of other news, and passing them on to their subscribers and colleagues. Any competent merchant or statesman would soon be aware of what they contained, the only question being who would pass it on first. The genre arose, naturally, where the modern system of resident merchant factors and diplomatic agents arose: Italy.<sup>51</sup>

Venice was the greatest centre of newswriting, where 'the news of all the world' was to be had, 'all people resorting thither'.<sup>52</sup> The word 'gazette' was once thought to derive from 'gazzetta', the smallest denomination of the Venetian coinage, for which the latest newsletter could be bought.<sup>53</sup> The word was, in the early seventeenth century, applied indiscriminately to printed or manuscript newspapers, and its earliest recorded use in English was in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1605), a play set in Venice.<sup>54</sup> In December 1602 the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius was writing to his publisher, Johannes Moretus, about a subscription to 'les gazettes', meaning newsletters.<sup>55</sup>

As a centre for news Venice was followed closely by Rome, the capital of European diplomacy, which the presence of the cardinals and numerous noble palaces made not so much a princely residence as a city of princely residences,<sup>56</sup> and at greater distance still by Genoa, Europe's banking capital, by Milan, nerve-centre of Habsburg power in Italy, by the princely residences Turin, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and by the vice-regal capital of Naples.

Like northern Italy, the Netherlands was densely urbanised, and the same pattern of greater and lesser towns was repeated. Antwerp's position has already been sketched. Brussels was significant both as a source and a market for political and diplomatic news.<sup>57</sup> Leuven was the main university town. Ghent was the capital of the County of Flanders, as well as a centre of craft production, and Bruges was the main commercial entrepôt of the Flemish

51 Mario Infelise, 'News Networks between Italy and Europe' in *The Dissemination of News*, ed. Dooley, pp. 51–67.

52 *CSP Dom. Addenda 1580–1625*, p. 413, 'Account of an Intelligencer' [1601].

53 'gazetta is a Venetian halfpenny, the price of a newspaper', Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 2 (9th ed., London, 1805). See also *OED*, 'gazel'.

54 *OED*, s.v.

55 ILE XV, 02 12 29.

56 Gigliola Fragnito, 'Cardinals' Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome', *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (1993), pp. 26–56.

57 See BLL, Trumbull papers, 1609–1625, *passim*. It has not been possible to locate and consult the collection of *Avvisi da Bruxelles* sent to Marco Croia in the years 1624–1626 by the newswriters Bernardino Rota and G.-B. Pasini and formerly held by the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



coast. The numerous smaller towns were linked to them by a continual crossing and recrossing of carriers, as Pletz described.

The dense networks within Italy and the Netherlands were linked to one another by the main communications corridor of Europe, the post road from Trent to Brussels, along which each post office was a node for other Tassis services and networks of local carriers: Cologne the great centre for western Germany, and the point of interchange with the Low Countries; Augsburg the great centre for southern Germany and the Alps; Frankfurt the centre of Germany's postal system as a whole.

The cities of the Dutch Republic were connected to one another by frequent carrier services, but for international communications they were entirely dependent on the carriers of Antwerp, Cologne and Hamburg, who each had their own post office in Amsterdam.<sup>58</sup> This remained so up to the middle of the century, when postmaster Hendrik Jacobsz. van der Heyde erected posting stations from Holland to Hamburg and Brussels.<sup>59</sup> From 1660 direct routes were developed from Holland to London, Paris and Danzig, ending Dutch reliance on foreign carriers and by-passing Antwerp. Before the end of the century Amsterdam had largely assumed Antwerp's former role as Cisalpine Europe's postal interchange.<sup>60</sup>

As with postal communications, so with the book trade. There were, by 1600, few Western European towns of any size without a resident printer-bookseller for the local trade. However, there was also a European market in books, in which a few major cities were important, most notably Venice, Paris, Rome and Lyon, followed by Antwerp and a few other towns.<sup>61</sup> Until 1630, Antwerp was the most important city of the Low Countries to supply the international book fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig.<sup>62</sup> Apart from such importance in supply, it was also a major transit centre: in 1616 the papal nuncio in Brussels wrote that it was through Antwerp that books printed in England and Germany were sent to Italy.<sup>63</sup> In the book trade, as in other aspects of commerce,

58 M. Schneider & J. Hemels, *Nederlandse krant 1618–1978* (Baarn, 1979), pp. 19–20.

59 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 190, 209.

60 Overvoorde, op. cit., pp. 235, 251; Coppens et al., p. 104; Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange* (Farnham, Surrey, 2006), p. 214 ff.

61 Peter Burke, 'Antwerp, a Metropolis in Europe', in Jan Van der Stock (ed.), *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis* (Antwerp, 1993), p. 54.

62 Guillaume van Gemert, 'Die Niederlande als Umschlagplatz spanischer Literatur' in P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, F.M.A. Robben & H. de Schepper (eds), *Tussen twee culturen* (Nijmegen, 1988), pp. 14–15.

63 Nuncio Gesualdo to Cardinal Borghese (Brussels, 3 December 1616), in Lucienne Van Meerbeeck (ed.), *Correspondance des nonces Gesualdo, Morra, Sanseverino* (Brussels & Rome, 1937), p. 97.

Antwerp was one of the major hinges connecting Protestant and Catholic Europe. It was even, in some ways, a link between Europe and the wider world. Many editions of Spanish books were printed in Antwerp and Brussels, but those of Brussels were largely for the home market. In contrast, Antwerp editions of Spanish chivalric romances, and of Latin liturgical books in the Tridentine Roman rite, served not only the markets of Northern and Central Europe, but also Spain's overseas possessions, and the Iberian Peninsula itself.<sup>64</sup>

### Pamphlets and Prints to 1605

In the Habsburg Netherlands, the practice of systematically printing news of events worthy of celebration seems to have begun in the mid-sixteenth century, although a scattering of news pamphlets survives from earlier decades. From 1541, the dynastic and military triumphs of Charles V were reported in pamphlets produced in Antwerp by a number of printers. This was not an officially-sponsored initiative using well-affected printers: Widow Van Ruremund, for instance, expressed sympathy for the Protestant religious settlement in England in her reports of the war between the emperor's English allies and the Catholic Scottish allies of the French.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Mathias Crom was involved in the illegal production of Protestant texts for the English market.<sup>66</sup> Most notably, Frans Fraet, two of whose news publications celebrating Charles V's achievements survive, was executed in 1558 for pro-French seditious printing.<sup>67</sup> Presumably their celebratory pamphlets met a market demand, just as their seditious printing did.

Although woodblock printing had a long history, it was the development of printing from copper plates that led to a real growth in current-affairs pictures, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. A volume of hand-drawn 'cartes de sièges au XVIe siècle' covering the period 1522–1606, apparently presented to the Dutch Lieutenant-General of Cavalry during the Truce, consists in the later pages of copies of published prints, and it seems likely that many of the earlier pictures are also derived from such sources. It is impossible to determine

64 Van Gemert, pp. 13–14.

65 *Goede nieuwe tijdinge, aengaende die victorie die de coninck van Enghelandt ghehadt heeft tegens die Schotten* (Antwerp, widow Van Ruremund, 1544).

66 David Loades, *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation* (London & New York, 1991), p. 131.

67 Rouzet, p. 65. Fraet printed pro-imperial pamphlets on the siege of Théroutanne.

whether the same is true of the very earliest pages, picturing the sieges of Rhodes (1522), Pavia (1525) and Buda (1526).<sup>68</sup> To what extent these are really topical, rather than historical, is in any case an open question. Hieronymus Cock's edition of an engraving of the joint French and Turkish naval assault on Reggio di Calabria in 1552 was printed almost a decade after the event, in 1561.<sup>69</sup>

The first Privy Council licence for prints was that for a picture of the imperial camp at Ingolstadt in 1548.<sup>70</sup> The pamphlets of Widow Van Ruremond and her colleagues and competitors were paralleled by plates engraved by or for Philip Galle, Hieronymus Cock and Jan Liefvrick. The celebratory and commemorative characteristics of news publishing come out even more strongly in the more visually arresting genres of the print and the broadsheet. Where a pamphlet had to be opened and read page by page, a broadsheet could simply be displayed, the blank side pasted up against a wall. The immediacy that printmakers aimed for was not that of being first with the details, but of most effectively making an event present to the viewer, even if this might be weeks, months, or even years after it took place. As an English advertisement for a reprint of an engraving of the siege of Breda put it: 'you may with the eye behold the siege, in a manner, as lively as if you were an eye-witnesse'.<sup>71</sup>

During the early years of the Revolt, loyalist pamphlets like those of the 1540s and 1550s disappeared. The years 1579–80 saw not only the beginnings of the revival of royal fortunes in the Netherlands, but also the return of loyalism to the theatre of printed propaganda. Having chosen a different course from that of the Estates General, the 'malcontent' nobles and the Union of Arras sought to justify their actions in a range of descriptive, polemical and apologetical pamphlets issued from the presses in the university town of Douai. Leuven, which with Douai and Antwerp was one of the largest printing centres in the Netherlands, does not appear to have played any role in pamphleteering. Nor are there any surviving pamphlets issued from the press of the Scheffer family, the main printing dynasty in 's-Hertogenbosch, between that city's

68 KBB, MS 22089. A table of contents (fo. 261-262v<sup>o</sup>) follows the siege of Gelre (1605), after which the siege of Bredevoort (1606) was added (fo. 265). Nearly all the actions represented took place in the Low Countries or against the Turks, and most were Maurice of Nassau's successes and failures; Spinola's sieges of the early 1600s were ignored.

69 Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten and Jan Van der Stock (eds), *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, exhibition catalogue (Brussels, 2013), no. 111.

70 ARB, GRSP, 1276/226.

71 Folke Dahl, *Bibliography of English Corantos*, Fig. 4 (facing p. 126). The original was presumably Verhoeven's fine engraving of the siege, one copy of which hangs in the museum of Breda.

reconciliation and the end of the century. Nevertheless, Jan Maes in Leuven and Jan Scheffer in 's-Hertogenbosch did print royal proclamations, including the decree outlawing William of Orange, in itself support for the regime's public presence.<sup>72</sup> Only the Dutch Catholic refugees in Cologne, the main printing centre of the German Counter-Reformation, were active in producing royalist histories and polemics.<sup>73</sup>

Since the malcontents and the Union clearly had their own agendas, theirs was in no sense a directly 'royalist' literature. This really only appeared from 1580, when Rutger Velpius relocated to Mons. The reconciliation of Flanders does not seem to have affected the progress of royalist printing, but Brabant was another matter. In 1585 Velpius followed the court from Mons to Brussels and, as Printer to the Court, established himself in the 'Golden Eagle', near the palace. In the same year Jan Mommaert set up shop, and was appointed printer to the city.

As printer to the court, Velpius's bread and butter was his monopoly on the printing of royal proclamations, which fed naturally into the printing of codifications of customary law, a practise much encouraged by the Archdukes.<sup>74</sup> As has already been suggested above, proclamations can also be regarded as one type of news publication: they often include information about the events or abuses that they were issued in response to.<sup>75</sup> But the nature of the court was also reflected in the Velpius dynasty's output: frequent re-editions of a French-Spanish dictionary, vanity publishing for courtiers, the devotional writings of court chaplains, books about war for military men, Spanish novels and plays for the courtly market. Current-affairs publishing was a tiny proportion of Velpius's output, but the pamphlets issued from the 'Golden Eagle' are the largest group printed outside Antwerp. In 1589, in a striking departure from the usual themes of pamphleteering, he printed a poem celebrating the sudden fall in grain prices after the severe dearth of 1587–1588.<sup>76</sup> As with so much occasional poetry, one has to wonder whether it was vanity printing. But on the whole Velpius's current-affairs output seems to have been geared largely to an international French-language market. From 1589 to 1593 it even seems to have been primarily intended for export to France as propaganda in support of the Catholic League. King Philip's scepticism about printed propaganda led him to reject the proposal

72 ARB GRSP 1276/44.

73 B.A. Vermaseren, *Katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving* (Maastricht, 1941), pp. 7–26.

74 Georges Martyn, 'Het recht', in *Albert & Isabella*, ed. Thomas & Duerloo, pp. 249–254.

75 See too Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age; Amsterdam, 2012), pp. 18–21.

76 *Verclaringhe van de groote ende subyte veranderinghe vande dierte.*

for a royal manifesto for the war in France, but it would be a mistake to conclude that this is evidence of a wider refusal ‘to engage in the propaganda battle’.<sup>77</sup>

In Antwerp, almost a quarter of the printing houses and bookshops closed in 1585–86, leaving about thirty establishments, foremost among them that of the newly reconciled Christopher Plantin. Although some businesses closed or moved, many of the non-Catholic printers were reconciled to the Church, and a new generation of Catholic printers arrived. Some of these men printed news pamphlets, prints or broadsides, but this was usually as a sideline to a more permanent printing speciality. Only Mattheus de Rische (1547–c.1591) appears to have made a living by specialising in news publishing.

Rische became a licensed printer in 1574, after ten years as a journeyman in Antwerp and Paris, and in 1583 he established himself in the ‘Golden Sampson’ under the cathedral tower in Antwerp.<sup>78</sup> From 1585 until 1590, he produced a number of news pamphlets from this shop. The cathedral churchyard was one of the more fashionable promenades of Antwerp and, like Paul’s Walk in London, a prime location for society gossip and the exchange of news. Rische’s first pamphlet was not entirely topical. It was a copy of a letter supposedly delivered to Philip II by a Turkish ambassador many years before, news only in the sense that it had not previously been publicised in Antwerp. The *Copie van den brief, die den grooten Turck ghesonden heeft, aen de Coninckijcke Majesteyt van Spaegnien* (1585) was the first news pamphlet of reconciled Antwerp, and its main purpose seems to have been to make the propaganda point that even the Turk, whom the rebels sought as an ally, recognized the authority of Philip within his dominions, and referred to him as ‘lord of the princes of Christendom’.

A pamphlet that Rische brought out in 1587, *Cort verhael vande comste der coninginne van Algier gearriveert in Roome*, recounted the arrival in Rome of the newly christened refugee ‘Queen of Algiers’ and her six children, ‘translated from the Italian copy printed in Venice’—neither the event nor the Venetian account of it have so far been identified.<sup>79</sup> Book trade networks circulated such pamphlets internationally, leading to reprints in other major centres, so titles or colophons ending ‘translated from...’ or ‘Printed after the

77 Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven & London, 1997), p. 241.

78 Rouzet, p. 189.

79 There is an extant Veronese imprint now in the Biblioteca Bertoliana in Vicenza: *Copia di una lettera venuta novamente da Roma, dove si narra la giunta in Roma della regina d’Algeri, con molti schiavi, & altre persone tutte battezzate in Maiorica. Insieme col successo del viaggio, et altri particolari. Aggiuntovi un sonetto in sua lode. Cosa notabile, e gloriosa in augumento della santa fede christiana* (Verona, Girolamo Discepolo, 1587). I am grateful to Nina Lamal for drawing this to my attention.

copy...' are by no means uncommon. The twice-yearly news overviews published at the great fairs of Cologne and Frankfurt, with such titles as *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* and *Relationis Historicae*, look very much like compendia of the previous six months' stock.<sup>80</sup> To give an idea of how international the news could be, at the very end of 1588 Plantin brought out a volume of Jesuit letters from China and Japan that were barely two years old.<sup>81</sup>

Rische's pamphlets, however, mostly recounted and celebrated the victories of the royal armies commanded by the Duke of Parma, which in the summer of 1586 included the taking of Grave (6 June), Venlo (29 June), and Neuss (26 July), and the revictualling of Zutphen (22 September). In three of these pamphlets, perhaps not coincidentally all three produced in partnership with a Brussels bookseller, Jan van Brecht, Rische reprinted letters giving details of the events, but framed by editorial introductions addressing the reader. Thus the account of the taking of Neuss begins:

After fame had given us to understand the occurrence of the siege and wondrous taking of the town of Neuss, most dear and beloved reader, for the satisfaction of everyone we undertook great trouble and diligence to obtain the true occurrence of the same in writing, and as we acquired the same in very fine letters written by my lord Richardot from the army of the Illustrious Lord the Prince of Parma, we have put the copy of the same faithfully into print, without changing anything, so that nothing untrue should be held before your worships in broadening or extending of the same, and to make you participants in it, so that in reading the same you should mark and be aware of the wonderful Deeds and judgements of God Almighty [...].<sup>82</sup>

80 For an overview of such publications, see Klaus Bender, *Relationes Historicae: Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin and New York, 1994).

81 *Avvisi della Cina et Giapone, del fine dell' anno 1586. Con l'arrivo delli Signori Giaponesi nell'India. Cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù, Ricevute il mese d'Ottobre 1588* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1588).

82 'Ende nae dien dat ons de fame heeft doen verstaen de geschiedenisse van het beleg ende wonderlijck innemen der stadt van Nuys, seer lieve ende beminde leser, soo ist dat wy tot verneughen van eenen yegelijcke groote moeyte ende neersticheyt hebben gedaen om de rechte gheschiedenisse daer af in gheschrifte te becomen, ende alsoo wy door sekere treffelijcke brieven gheschreven door den heere Ritzardot, wt den leighere vanden Doorluchtighen Heere den Prince van Parma, daer aengheraect sijn, soo hebben wy het wtschrift van dien ghetrauwelijck in Druck willen stellen, sonder daer aen iet te veranderen, op int verbreyden ende extendeeren van dien niet onwarachtichs

This shows not only an attempt at a providential reading of current events, but also that Rische's (or Van Brecht's?) editorial practice was to seek out letters that would give details about events already known by common report. News is brought by 'fame' ('bruiet' in the French account of the revictualling of Zutphen, which is close to 'rumour')<sup>83</sup>—the pamphlet provides only true particulars, sought out after the fact in the knowledge that some people will be pleased by them (to the extent of being willing to pay for them). But this could, of course, be sheer fiction: Richardot may have sent the letter to Van Brecht himself, with a hint that it would be worth his while to have it published. The pamphlets about Grave and Venlo are written in a very different style: full of praise for Parma, but not explicitly providentialist, and providing an edited digest of events rather than a verbatim eyewitness account.

Parma's fame was not limited to the Low Countries. Already in 1585 Elizabeth Tudor had declared that Parma's 'singular rare partes [...] hath wonne unto him as great reputation, as any man this day living'.<sup>84</sup> English news was in turn of interest in the Netherlands, where the range of news reported in pamphlets reflected a war on four fronts: against the rebels in the Low Countries, against their English allies, in support of the House of Bavaria in the War of Cologne, and in support of the French Catholic League. This news included the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots, which was not a success to be celebrated, nor, in Habsburg domains, an especial occasion for mourning, but the report was very well suited to the new genre of atrocity literature pioneered in the 1580s.<sup>85</sup> So too were the accounts of the murders of the Guises published in Brussels by Rutger Velpius in the following years.<sup>86</sup> Less politically motivated was *Het Martelie vanden E.P.F. Albertus van Leyden* (n.p.d.), a fairly small illustrated sheet giving details of the murder of Fr Albert van Leyden, a friar from

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U.L. voorgehouden en soude worden, ende u daeraf willen mede deelachtich maecken, op dat ghy in het overlesen van dien sou moghen mercken ende ghewaer worden de wonderlijcke Daden ende oordeelen van God Almachtich', *Beschryvinghe, oft cort verhael, van het beleg, ende innemen, der Stadt Nuys*, sig. Aiii [sic, for A2]. The Hogenberg engraving of the event can be viewed at <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-78.784-259>.

83 *Discours ou briefve description du revictuaillement de la ville de Zutphen*, [Aiv].

84 'Addition to the Declaration', in *Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England to give aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the lowe Countries* (London, Christopher Barker, 1585).

85 *Waerachtich verhael, hoe...de coninginne van Schotlandt haer heeft ghewillichlyk begeven ter doot* (1587) and *Martyre de la royne d'Escosse* (1588).

86 See bibliography, p. 278 below.

Holland shot by freebooters while travelling from Antwerp to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1589.

The classic of the atrocity genre was Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis* (Antwerp, Adrian Huberti, 1587), reprinted 1588, 1592 and 1604, with French editions 1587, 1588, 1592 and 1607.<sup>87</sup> Verstegan was an English Catholic refugee who had formerly gone under the English-sounding patronymic Rowlands (the name under which he had produced *The Post of the World* in 1576) but reverted to his ancestral Dutch surname in exile.<sup>88</sup> He was an active propagandist for the English Mission and a prolific author in English, Latin, French and Dutch. In the years 1583–1605 he worked tirelessly both to publish devotional and apologetical works for Catholics in England and to raise sympathy for their plight on the Continent. In 1587 he was awarded a royal pension to be paid from the military treasury in Flanders.<sup>89</sup> Between 1592 and 1603, he was occupied as an editor, publisher, newswriter, intelligencer, translator, and book smuggler, with some role in almost every aspect of the book and information trades.

The unifying theme of the *Theatrum* was a model for the historical interpretation of the religious and political disturbances of the British Isles, France and the Netherlands in the period 1535–1587. The identification of Calvinist theology with cruel and illegitimate government may not have been a topos invented by Verstegan, but he, perhaps more than anybody, made the linkage standard in polemic and historiography.<sup>90</sup> The atrocities of the Calvinist rebels in France and the Low Countries and the tyranny of the 'Protestant Machiavellians' in England and Ireland all fitted the pattern. The climax of the *Theatrum*, which began with an image of iconoclasts, was the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots, the judicial murder of a sovereign queen being the highpoint of the Calvinist attack on legitimate authority. The verse prologue and epilogue, and perhaps also the verses below each plate, were written by 'I.B.': Johannes Bochijs (1555–1609), secretary to the city of Antwerp from 1585, a Latin poet who had studied under Robert Bellarmine in the 1570s. The publisher, Adrian Huberti (or Adriaen Huybrechts), was an engraver and print-publisher who ran a plate press, but not a letterpress, and the text was printed with Plantin type and

87 A scholarly edition was published by Chandeigne (Paris) in 1994, edited by Frank Lestringant.

88 Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & The World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven, 2004).

89 Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas 2a época 42, photocopies kindly provided by Geoffrey Parker.

90 Vermaseren, *Katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, pp. 68, 197, 276, 280.



decorations.<sup>91</sup> With pictures and prose by a royal pensioner, verses by the secretary of the city, and printing by the royal printer, it is difficult not to think of the *Theatrum* as a semi-official publication.

From the beginning of the Revolt, loyalist pamphleteers had striven to identify heresy with the evils of rebellion and war, and Verstegan's works gave the identification greater credibility, providing a basis for a comparison of the fruits of heresy in England, with its Machiavellian tyranny, and in France and the Netherlands, where the heretic rebels never came so close to establishing themselves in power. For the next generation of news publishers, this Calvinist-Machiavellian model, with the Habsburgs as the bulwark of traditional religion and legitimate monarchy, was the basic framework for reporting European affairs. Only in the case of France was the identification of the Catholic League with both orthodoxy and legitimacy rather doubtful, but the murders of the Guises in December 1588 went a long way to help the portrayal of Henry III as a tyrant in league with heretics. Much was made of this in Velpius's pamphlets of 1589.

The Calvinist cruelty model dovetailed nicely with the older self-portrayal of the Austrian Habsburgs and Spain's Catholic monarchy as the twin bulwarks against the despotic and anti-Christian Turks, a portrayal that was to recur in reporting of the Long Turkish War (1593–1606). The two models were in any case closely related, as William Reynolds's *Calvino-Turcismus* (1597) was to show. The relationship went further than a theoretical parallel, extending to political-military overtures, such as those revealed in Velpius's 1589 pamphlet *Copie de la requeste presentee au Turc par l'agent de la Royne d'Angleterre*.

Mattheus de Rische's last known work was published in 1590, and he apparently died within the year. His widow, Ysabeele Mathys, kept the shop going, and in 1592 she married Anthoni de Ballo (1566–1618). From 1594, work was carried out under his name.<sup>92</sup> Where Rische had followed the successes of Parma, Ballo reported the victories of Fuentes (1595) and Albert (1596). Like Rische, the events he covered also went beyond the current wars of the Habsburg Netherlands. The material for one pamphlet was a letter from Prague on the course of the Long Turkish War, while another reproduced a letter from Spain detailing the itinerary and reception of James I's

91 G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez C. Plantin', in Marcus De Schepper & Francine De Nave (eds), *Ex Officina Plantiniana: Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini, ca. 1520–1589* (Antwerp, 1989), pp. 213–214.

92 Rouzet, p. 4. He later remarried, to Elizabeth Michielsens.

ambassador.<sup>93</sup> Ballo also published a number of more literary pamphlets, commenting on the themes of war and peace in the Netherlands: in 1598 a dialogue between a soldier and a husbandman and a lament of Holland and Zeeland, and in 1609 a verse celebration of the arrival of the English and French ambassadors in Antwerp. As a literary rather than informative work, this was not an infringement of Verhoeven's 1605 octrooi on news publishing, which in any case may only have applied to illustrated accounts of military events.

The Archduke Ernest's arrival in 1594 gave a new impetus to the publishing of celebratory pamphlets in Antwerp, which had languished somewhat since the end of Parma's string of victories in the 1580s. Velpius in Brussels published a steady stream of reports on the civil war in France, but nothing comparable has survived from Antwerp. Ballo did not begin work until 1594 and Arnout Coninx, who was to be his main rival in the trade, apparently made his pamphlet-publishing debut in the same year, with Jan van der Noot's poem on the entry of the Archduke Ernest, and *Een Schoon Dialogus*, a dialogue between 'Belgica' and 'Hope for Peace' dedicated to the archduke.<sup>94</sup> About the same time he published a *Prosopopée d'Anvers à la bienvenue du Sérénissime prince Ernest*, by the cleric and religious poet Leon de Meyere, followed in 1598 by the same's *Poeme. Advis pour la paix de la Belgique*, dedicated to Albert and recommending economic blockades to force the Dutch to negotiate.<sup>95</sup>

Such works belonged to yet another new genre, which made its appearance in 1594 and was to be prominent for a decade: literary appeals for peace, generally addressed to the Archduke Ernest in 1594, to his brother Albert in 1596, and to the joint sovereigns Albert and Isabella in 1598–1600. The first peace pamphlets were occasioned by the solemn entries of the new Habsburg governors or sovereigns in 1594–1600, themselves demonstrations of art and rhetoric stage-managed by such humanists as Johannes Bochijs, secretary of Antwerp, or Philip Numan, secretary of Brussels, each of whom masterminded the receptions of Ernest (1594), Albert (1596) and the Archdukes (1599) in their

93 *Waerachtighe beschrijvinghe, van de groote victorie die Godt [...] den christenen verleent heeft, teghen [...] den Turckschen Keyser* (1598) and *Waeractich verhael vande Reyse van den Ambassadeur van Engellant nae Spaignien* (1605).

94 *Op de gheluckighe ende heerlyke in-koomste des hoogh-gheboren Vorstes Ernesto and Een Schoon Dialogus oft t'samen-sprekinghe, tusschen Belgica ende Hope tot Peys, tracterende ter eeren vanden Hooghghgeboren doorluchtighen Vorst Ernesto*.

95 De Meyere (died 1630), a native of Antwerp, held high ecclesiastical office in East Flanders from 1599 onwards. See J. Roulez, 'De Meyere (Léon)', in *BN*, 5 (1876), coll. 561–563.

respective cities.<sup>96</sup> The theme of the *Schoon Dialogus*, that God would help the archduke to obtain peace so that traffic and prosperity would flourish, was respectfully but insistently repeated in all the solemn entries. Nor were the hopes expressed in these ceremonies allowed to fade into obscurity. The inscriptions, playlets and speeches were recorded in sumptuously illustrated festival books, and the paintings were hung in the civic collections, providing models for future receptions, and thus becoming an enduring influence on political perception.<sup>97</sup>

At Ernest's entry of Brussels there was a great display of the archduke's imperial and Burgundian ancestry, but there were also *tableaux vivants* giving prominence to olive branches, the fruits of peace as symbolised by Mercury and Parnassus, and the binding up of the arms of Vulcan, to be hammered into ploughshares.<sup>98</sup> In Antwerp, the largest construction was something of an innovation for solemn entries: a large temporary amphitheatre, the *Theatrum Pacis*, seating a crowd of allegorical figures representing the many benefits of peace.<sup>99</sup> The message was not lost on Ernest, who recorded the deep impression made by the hope of the people 'for real deliverance by my intervention from the evils and afflictions that have burdened them for so long'.<sup>100</sup> Soon afterwards, he despatched Maximilian von Dietrichstein to Madrid with a memorandum recommending renewed peace talks.<sup>101</sup> Propaganda did not work in only one direction.

Interspersed with appeals for peace were celebrations of victory in war. A truce with France in 1593–94, and peace talks at Middelburg in 1595, which Maurice of Nassau attended only to tell the southern delegates that he would

96 e.g. SAB, 2773, fo. 11–12 for the appointment of Numan to design and oversee the reception. On the subordination of the individual arches and displays to a unifying design developed at the highest levels of city government, see Soly, 'Plechtige intochten'.

97 E. McGrath, 'An Allegory of the Netherlandish War by Hendrik De Clerck', in *Rubens and His World: Bijdragen—Etudes—Studies—Beiträge. Opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. Ir. R.-A. d'Hulst* (Antwerp, 1985), p. 77.

98 Philips Numan, *Descriptio et explicatio pegmatum, arcuum et spectaculorum quae Bruxellae Brabant. pridie cal. februarii anno MDXCIII exhibita fuere sub ingressum ser. principis Ernesti* (Brussels, 1594).

99 Irmengard von Roeder-Baumbach, *Versieringen bij Blijde Inkomsten gebruikt in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Antwerp, 1943), pp. 81, 85; Antoinette Doutrepont, 'Martin de Vos et l'Entrée triomphale de l'Archiduc Ernest d'Autriche à Anvers en 1594', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 18 (1937), pp. 138–141, 187.

100 Quoted in McGrath, 'Allegory of the Netherlandish War', p. 86.

101 Albert J. Loomie, 'Fr Joseph Creswell's 'Información' for Philip II and the Archduke Ernest, ca. August 1594', *Recusant History*, 22:4 (1995), p. 469.

not treat with them until all foreign troops were withdrawn from the Netherlands, provided little occasion for celebration.<sup>102</sup> But in 1595 the tide of defeat was stemmed with an event that seemed the culmination of the process of reconciliation that had begun in 1581. Captain Herauguère, commander of the Dutch garrison at Breda, attempted to repeat his 1590 surprise seizure of Breda with an assault on Lier. Not a major town, Lier was so situated that freebooters based there would pose a threat to the communications of a great part of Brabant.<sup>103</sup> At dawn on 14 October thirty-two men overpowered the sentries and opened the Mechelsepoort to the rest of Herauguère's force. The garrison of Spaniards and Walloons commanded by Don Alonso de Luna put up a stiff defence, and after fierce fighting retained only one of the town's gates. The bulk of the field army being occupied on the frontier with France under Fuentes or in the far north under Mondragón, there was no large force available to retake the town. The citizen militias of Antwerp and Mechelen, with the Spanish garrison from the citadel of Antwerp, sped to the rescue, their unexpected appearance and access to the town through the Lisperpoort being sufficient to make Herauguère abandon Lier.

The spontaneous rallying of the citizenry to armed action in the Habsburg cause, albeit with strong motives of self-interest, was celebrated as a turning-point in the conflict, an event considered newsworthy as far away as Italy, where the *Maravigliosa vittoria ottenuta delle Genti del Rè Catolico contra i rebelli heretici che havevano sorpresa la Città di Lira in Brabantia* was published by Bernardino Beccari in Rome and by Pietro Diserolo in Verona.<sup>104</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the event, local accounts were brought out by Ballo and Velpius.<sup>105</sup> Identical to one another in structure, outline and opening sentence, Ballo's Antwerp edition provides a narrative from the perspective of Antwerp's militia, while Velpius's was based on a notarised copy of the verbal report to the Privy Council of Gillis Rombouts, lieutenant of the militia of Mechelen. Given Velpius's official source and the fact that the opening ninety

102 Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, pp. 230–231; Adrien Campan (ed.), *Abrégé historique du règne d'Albert & Isabelle, 1592–1602* (Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique vol. 26, 1867), pp. 24–29.

103 J. Bernartius, *De Lirani Oppidi* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1596), p. 18.

104 Knuttel 941 & 942. Beccari (active 1593–1600) also printed a series of pamphlets on the course of the Long Turkish War; Tullio Bulgarelli, 'Beccari, Bernardino', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 7 (1970).

105 *Cort verhael van den Aenslach, ende veroveren der stadt Liere* (Antwerp, Ballo, 1595); *Brief recit de l'entreprinse et saisissement de la ville de Liere* (Antwerp, Anthonis de Ballo, 1595); *Discours ende warachtich verhael van het inne nemen van de stadt van Liere door den vyant* (Brussels, Velpius, 1595).

words of the two pamphlets are identical, it seems likely that Ballo's account was either part of a co-ordinated propaganda campaign, or an Antwerp corrective to the bias towards the role of Mechelen's militia in Velpius's account. One surviving copy of Ballo's pamphlet gives the date of the event as 'xiii octobris', another as 'xiv octob.', the difference presumably indicating that it went into a second printing. Antoine Tack of Lille, who had earlier printed two pamphlets celebrating a victory over the French at Dourlens, now published a *Discours de la surprinse de la ville de Liere*. Adrian Huberti brought out an engraving of the event, by Joachim de Buschere, showing the militias of Mechelen in the foreground, with the royal forces and Antwerp militia in the background.<sup>106</sup>

Another event in October 1595 that was reported by Velpius in Brussels, Ballo in Antwerp and Tack in Lille was the surrender of Cambrai to the Count of Fuentes, a Spanish commander who was acting governor general between Ernest's death and Albert's arrival in the Low Countries. A pamphlet on the same event was printed by Jean Bogart of Douai, who specialised in academic and educational works but turned out the occasional ephemeral piece. The recapturing of Cambrai (an independent episcopal duchy) to the patronage of the king of Spain was one of the major successes of the decade. Jean Bogart, under the rather inaccurate title *Poincts et articles de la reduction de la ville, chasteau et citadelle de Cambray*, published an account of the deliberations, negotiations and surrender of the town, but not of the citadel, all from documents giving the magistracy's point of view and notarised as true copies. Rutger Velpius, most closely mirroring the governor general's own view, based his *Discours veritable de la rendition de la Ville & du chasteau de Cambray* on two letters from Fuentes to the Council of State and on the conditions for the surrender of the citadel concluded with the commander of the French garrison. Ballo, without commentary, simply printed the collected articles of surrender as *Cort ende waerachtich verhael van het innemen vande Stadt ende Casteel van Camerijck*. In Lille, Antoine Tack similarly printed the *Articles et Poincts arrestez entre la Comte de Fuentes et ceux de la citadelle de Cambray*, but also brought out a celebratory commentary under the title *Discours contenant les choses mémorables advenues au siège des ville et citadelle de Cambray*, which seems to have been reprinted in Arras the following year.<sup>107</sup> The dominance of official documents suggests something of the extent to which official 'briefings' could steer the content of news publishing. By sticking to the letter of official

106 This can be viewed on the Rijksmuseum website at <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1907-2229>.

107 Fernand Danchin, *Les imprimés lillois*, vol. 1 (Lille, 1926), p. 40; J.G.T. Grässe, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, vol. 2 (Dresden, 1861), p. 406.

texts, printers were also insuring themselves against any appearance of discussing affairs of state, should the authorities take offence.

The same line continued with the Cardinal-Archduke Albert's arrival in the Low Countries, despite the rhetoric of peaceful conciliation.<sup>108</sup> Numerous pamphlets gave the new governor general personal credit for the surprise of Calais, the successful siege of Ardres and the taking of Hulst, although one Antwerp news printer, slow on the uptake, celebrated a Colonel La Bourlotte.<sup>109</sup> The triple victory of Albert's first year in office elicited the full range of ephemeral printed propaganda—pamphlets, prints, ballads and verses—from the presses of Antwerp, Brussels and elsewhere. In Antwerp, Ballo and Coninx found themselves competing not just with one another but with a host of other printers.<sup>110</sup> Pamphlets also appeared in Arras and Lille.<sup>111</sup> Engravers such as Adrian Huberti and Paul van Overbeeck cut prints of individual victories, while Jerome Wiericx produced montages and allegories showing Albert surrounded by a wreath of conquered towns.<sup>112</sup> The authorities clearly did their utmost to encourage the publicity by the well-tried method of providing favoured printers, such as Rutger Velpius, with Council of State documents, and by commissioning medals bearing the likeness of the archduke and, on the reverse, three tiny images of the towns. The operations are even depicted in a series of seven tapestries, now in the royal collection in Madrid, commissioned by the city of Antwerp for the archducal solemn entry in 1599.

But all these victories were achieved before the royal bankruptcy of November 1596. Thereafter, Albert's *éclat* as a military commander faded rapidly. Early in 1597 Amiens was surprised and Henry IV repulsed from Arras, but before the year was out the French had retaken Amiens. Penniless and powerless, Albert could do little as Maurice of Nassau proceeded through the eastern provinces of the Netherlands, in three months taking Alphen, Rheinberg, Moers, Groenlo, Bredevoort, Enschede, Oldenzaal, Otmarsund and Lingen, placing swathes of German territory under contribution, while the royal garrisons of Châtelet, Calais, Cambrai, Ardres, Doullens and Lier mutinied, levying contribution on the towns and pillaging the surrounding villages.<sup>113</sup> Small

108 One of his first actions was to call upon the United Provinces to reopen negotiations (Campan, p. 36).

109 *Discours au particulier de ce qui se passa a l'Isle de Hulst* (Coninx, 1596).

110 See bibliography, pp. 281–284, and M. Hoc, 'Publications anversoises relatives aux campagnes de l'Archiduc Albert', *Gulden Passer* 3 (1925), pp. 32–41.

111 Danchin, vol. 1, pp. 44–45.

112 Hoc, *op. cit.*; Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix*, vol. 3:1 (Brussels, 1982), 1758b.

113 Parker, *Army of Flanders*, p. 291; Campan, pp. 44–45.

wonder that the calls for peace became more insistent, as the occasion for celebratory pamphlets disappeared. Even the bishop of Namur's funeral oration for Philip II, in listing his great achievements as the victory of Lepanto and the establishment of the new bishoprics, seminaries and missionary colleges in the Netherlands, seemed to suggest that in northern Europe the way forward lay with preaching rather than armed conflict.<sup>114</sup>

The first step towards a peaceful settlement was taken in 1598: on 2 May a treaty between France and Burgundy was signed at Vervins. The war with France was ended, and England was putting out peace feelers. Only the Dutch seemed determined to continue fighting. Philip II himself, having struggled for thirty years to find a solution to the troubles of the Netherlands which would safeguard religion and the international position of his family, gave the provinces to his eldest daughter, Isabella, as a dowry, and married her to her cousin Albert, who since 1593 had been the closest thing the king had to a favourite.<sup>115</sup> Philip saw this as 'the true and right course to attaine to a good and firme peace, and to bee delivered from such a troublesome warre'.<sup>116</sup> Late in the summer of 1598, Cardinal-Archduke Albert, whose ecclesiastical career had never got round to including ordination, put aside his scarlet robes and set off for Spain. It looked as though the much desired 'general peace' might at last be attainable.

The sumptuous receptions and celebrations at every stage of Albert's journey were reported to the archducal couple's expectant new subjects in the Netherlands in pamphlets issued from the presses of Velpius and, to a lesser extent, by the printers of Antwerp, often copies of the festival pamphlets rapidly turned out in the cities where the ceremonies took place.<sup>117</sup> The reception of the Archdukes in the Netherlands, where they made their joyous entries of the towns of Brabant in 1599 and of Flanders in 1600, were occasions to rework all the displays of the hope for peace which had been rehearsed at Ernest's entries in 1594.

In Antwerp, Bochijs produced a spectacle dense in allegory and allusion, and provided a key in his *Historica narratio* (Plantin office, 1602). The guiding principles of a pageant which could at first sight be taken for absolutist in

114 *Sermon funebre faict par le Reverme. Evesque de Namur* (Brussels, Velpius, 1599).

115 M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'The Court of Philip II of Spain', in Ronald G. Asch & Adolf M. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility* (London & Oxford, 1991), pp. 205, 221, 242–243.

116 *A true Coppie of the transportation of the Lowe Countries, Burgundie, and the Countie of Charrolois: Doone by the King of Spayne for the Dowrie of his eldest Daughter*, trans. H.W. (London, I.R. for Paul Linley, 1598), p. 2.

117 On the Italian coverage of the ceremonies in Ferrara, see Bonner Mitchell, *1598: a Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara* (Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 71; 1990).

tendency are, as one might expect from a civic dignitary and a pupil of Bellarmine, those of low taxation, limited monarchy, and contractual government, carefully couched in quotations from irreproachable authorities and historical examples from classical antiquity.<sup>118</sup> In the same way, pamphlets reporting the receptions were enthusiastic about the hopes inspired by the new rulers, but did not fail to mention the demands of the Estates General that foreign influence on decision-making be limited, that the King of Spain continue to pay for the war effort, and that foreign troops be employed solely in the field army, not in garrison duty (where the damage mutineers could inflict was so much greater).<sup>119</sup>

Of particular interest, however, is the way that Albert and Isabella cultivated a peace-loving image and to some extent appropriated the rhetoric of peace developed by south-Netherlandish humanists in the 1590s, peace pamphlets from 1600 being addressed to the Dutch rebels who refused to accept the suitable terms of submission or reconciliation offered by the archdukes. Although printed anonymously, many of them have been attributed to the Velpius press, and the peace envisaged is emphatically a *Pax Hispanica*. Alongside these peace pamphlets came the traditional celebratory pamphlets at the proclamations of the peace of Vervins in 1598, the ceasefire with England in 1603, the peace of London of 1604, the end of the Turkish War in 1606, the ceasefire with the Dutch in 1607, and the Truce of Antwerp in 1609. All these concrete achievements of peaceful agreement, however necessitated by the exhaustion of finances and populations, reinforced the image of the princely peace-bringer that had been so hopefully expressed since 1594.

Before entirely reprofiling himself as a prince of peace, Albert had a final fling at military glory. The aftermath of the Battle of Nieuwpoort, in which he distinguished himself as an active leader of men, provides an enlightening example of the interaction between propaganda and the press. In 1600 Maurice of Nassau, having secured the Republic's borders northwards in 1591–94 and eastwards in 1597–99, turned his attention to the Flemish coast. His field

118 The political concepts of Bochijs's *narratio* are set out in L. Van den Broeck, 'Het beeld van de vorst bij de Blijde Inkomst van Albrecht en Isabella in Antwerpen', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 71 (1988), pp. 123–138; the implications of the imagery in which it was embodied in Margit Thøfner, 'Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and Visual Conventions in Johannes Bochijs's Account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp', *Oxford Art Journal* 22:1 (1999), pp. 1–27.

119 *Cort ende warachtich verhael vande incomste des Eertshartoch Albertus, met de Infante* (n.p., 1600). The sincerely respectful tone of the pamphlet makes publication outside the Habsburg Netherlands unlikely.



army was shipped to Ostend, with the intention of marching down the coast to besiege Nieuwpoort and Dunkirk while the Army of Flanders was disabled by mutinies. Poor reconnaissance meant that Maurice was not aware that Isabella had succeeded in rallying several thousand troops to the colours, and that the archduke was closing rapidly at their head.<sup>120</sup> By sacrificing a vanguard of Scottish and German mercenaries at the bridge at Leffinge, a village to the south of Ostend, Maurice gained time to order his forces and dig in his artillery, and the following day a pitched battle was fought in the dunes between Ostend and Nieuwpoort.<sup>121</sup> Maurice retained the field, in large part thanks to the self-sacrifice of his Scots veterans at Leffinge and on the field of battle,<sup>122</sup> but was forced to abandon the planned campaign and to re-embark his army at Ostend.

Albert was wounded in the battle and was taken to Bruges to recover, whence he immediately despatched his version of the day's events to the Council of State. He also gave instructions for a decree for the raising of militia companies, the preamble to which put the most positive spin possible on the battle: simply by virtue of rallying the Army of Flanders and fighting the army of the States, the archdukes had forced Maurice to abandon his campaign on the Flemish coast and evacuate his army from Flanders.<sup>123</sup> This would have been read out to drum and trumpet from the steps of every town hall that recognised the archduke's sovereignty, and posted up in public places. The decree was formally issued by the Council of State on 21 July, almost three weeks after the event, but since the Estates General were in session in Brussels at the time of the battle it was important to present the official version even sooner. Thus the Duke of Aarschot, a Councillor of State and the foremost lord temporal in the States of Brabant, announced it to the assembled deputies the day after the battle.<sup>124</sup> This official report became the basis for the printed accounts that circulated in

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120 Isabella's unladylike role in the proceedings led the designer of one set of Dutch prints on the battle to portray Albert and Isabella on horseback, the Infanta wielding the sword (ASR, 1092).

121 H.W. Lumsden, 'The Scots at Leffingen, 1600', *Scottish Historical Review*, 7 (1905), pp. 268–274.

122 'Nederlaag (of opoffering) van het Zeeuwsche en Schotse Regiment', F. Muller, *Nederlandsche historieplaten* vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1863), no. 1133.

123 *ROPB Albert & Isabelle*, vol. 1, pp. 100–101.

124 The archduke's letter in M. Gachard (ed.), *Actes des États Généraux de 1600* (Brussels, 1849), pp. 561–562; Aarschot's communication with the Estates General in 'Première Relation, rédigée par Nicolas Du Bois, conseiller pensionnaire des États du Tournaisis', in *ibid.*, p. 235.

the next few months.<sup>125</sup> The only difference between the version presented by the Council of State on 3 July 1600 and that printed in Leuven for New Year 1601 is that in the one Albert fought like a lion, and in the other like a Caesar.

While the archduke was fêted for putting a stop to the Dutch campaign, the Dutch could celebrate the battle as a straightforward victory, in which they had held the field against the fearsome Spanish *tercios*. One Dutch pamphlet shows the same inclination to providentialism evident in the Rische-Brecht celebrations of Parma's victories: 'Summary narrative of the magnificent and triumphant Victory that the Lord God Almighty granted to his Princely Excellency Maurice of Nassau in the Battle fought between Ostend and Nieuwpoort near Wilskerke, the second of July in the year 1600'.<sup>126</sup> As late as 1621, when the war between the Habsburgs and the United Provinces resumed after a Twelve Years' Truce, Lambrecht Persoons was arrested by the local authorities in St Omer for having hawked a *Clare ende Waerachtige Historische Vertellinghe* giving the Dutch perspective on the battle.<sup>127</sup> The court sought the advice of the Privy Council in Brussels, who responded that all the copies of the offending 'portrayal and discourse' should be burnt before the prisoner's face, and that he should be fined 60 florins, being kept in prison until the fine was paid.<sup>128</sup> Even after two decades, the effort to put out the Habsburg perspective was matched by efforts to prevent the circulation of alternative versions.

The reporting of the victories at Zutphen, Lier and Cambrai show the extent to which independent news printing relied on official documents. The development of peace literature shows the co-option by courtly writers of a rhetoric developed by civic humanists. The Battle of Nieuwpoort shows a government directly mobilizing its resources to project a particular version of events, and suppress alternatives. The combination of these approaches gave the authorities a strong position in relation to the news that appeared in print. Another genre, the almanac, was a less easily influenced form of printed communication.

125 *La Flandre conservée* (Arras, Robert Maudhuy, 1600); *De Folle Entreprinse van Graef Mauris, ghemaect up Brugghen, Nieuwpoort &c.* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1601); *Nyeu Jaer voor die van Hollant*, etc. (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1601).

126 *Sommier verhael vande seer heerlijcke ende tryumphante Victorie, die Godt de Heere Almachtich verleent heeft syne Princelicke Excelentie Maurits van Nassau, inde Batailie gheschiet tusschen Oosteynde ende Nieuwpoort by Wilckenskercke, den tweeden July, Anno 1600* (Amsterdam, Cornelis Claesz, 1600).

127 The print in question can be downloaded from the website of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-77.511> (last consulted 1 December 2012).

128 'pourtraitz et discours'. ARB, GRSP, 1277/234.

## Almanacs

As a printer, Abraham Verhoeven was producing almanacs before, after and throughout his career as a newspaper publisher. These annual publications were a staple of the printing trade, ranging from simple wall calendars, to desk diaries, to palm-sized booklets in three parts: detailed weekly calendars, prognostications, and a chronicle. The main purpose was to provide a calendar of feast days, fast days, and fairs, but for many people almanacs would have been the one point of regular contact with printed matter, and all but the most basic provided a general cultural experience. The prognostications were provided by academic astronomers or by doctors of medicine and often concerned the weather and matters of health—in particular which parts of the body one should avoid bleeding and cupping during specific planetary conjunctions. Nevertheless, more general aspects of cosmology and world affairs were also referred to. The predictions of the most famous prognosticator, Maître Michel de Nostredame (1503–1566), continued to sell long after his death. Willem Stroobant, for example, was printing purported prophecies of Nostradamus in 1594.<sup>129</sup> On 26 July 1612, however, an ordinance was issued in response to complaints about ‘abuses, frauds and scandals’ in the almanac trade: some printers were not clearly marking feast days in red ink, some tide tables were unreliable, and some prognostications were attributed to ‘diverse authors and masters who have long departed this world [...] without the least appearance of truth’, and could give rise to inconclusive wagers about their outcome, and then to fights. The printing of prognostications by dead astrologers was accordingly prohibited.<sup>130</sup>

Some predictions were clearly political in nature. In 1558 the Brussels Council of State had written to the magistrates of Antwerp demanding that the printer Frans Fraet be put to the torture, despite his citizenship, for having printed ‘a false scandalous and seditious prognostication or prophecy’.<sup>131</sup>

129 G. Zech-Du Biez, *Les Almanachs belges* (Braine-Le-Comte, n.d.), p. 74.

130 ‘die groote ende excessive abusen, frauden ende schandalen dyer geschieden ende gecommiteert worden binnen onser stadt van Antwerpen int drucken van diversche almenacken ende pranosticationen van vele ende diversche autheurs ende meesters die lange deser werelt syn overleden, daerinne men is bevindende seer quade ordre gestelt wordt soo in vele diversche heylige dagen [...] boven dyen worden die pronosticationen vermeld met vele gefingeerde ende gedroomde toecomende geschiedenissen die int minste geen apparentie der waerheyt en hebben [...] diversche onnutte weddingen daernaes somtyts tot groot gevecht ende kyvagie naervolcht’. *ROPB Albert & Isabelle*, vol. 2, pp. 140–141.

131 ‘een valsche schandeleuse ende seditieuse pronostication oft prophecie’, ARB, PSA 1709/2/49, Council of State to the magistrates of Antwerp, 4 Jan. 1557/58.

In the 1620s and 1630s anti-Habsburg prognostications attributed to Antonio Magini, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Bologna, were popular in the Northern Netherlands. The prognostications were topical, and cannot have been drafted as early as 1617, the year of Magini's death.<sup>132</sup> In 1635, a pro-Habsburg pamphleteer went to the trouble of comparing Magini's supposed predictions for the year with the actual course of that summer's campaign, quoting such phrases as 'A white Cock will crow great wonder in Christendom, that the Mountains will echo it', and then explicating, 'A white Cock I take to mean the Cardinal de Richelieu [...]'<sup>133</sup> Towards the end of 1644 a report from Antwerp printed in the Parisian *Nouvelles ordinaires* claimed that the government in Brussels, in order to placate public opinion after a disastrous campaign, had 'bribed an Astrologer, to have him predict that in the year 1645 all things usurped will be returned to their old masters'.<sup>134</sup> Almanacs were as much a part of the print culture and political calculations of the time as were newspapers.

One of the most successful almanacs of the Habsburg Netherlands in the 1590s and 1600s was that printed by Arnout Coninx (1548–1617), with prognostications by Maître Jean Franco, physician to the city of Brussels and later a canon of Cambrai.<sup>135</sup> Almanacs, as ephemeral and supposedly purely factual publications, were exempt from the royal licensing laws (although not from ecclesiastical censorship), but Hieronymus Verdussen the Elder craftily obtained octroois for the Franco prognostications for 1602 and 1603, establishing copyright first to the Flemish edition and then to the French as well. Coninx seems to have had a particular trade in French editions shipped to Artois, Hainaut and Walloon Flanders—he had also printed the customs of the town and jurisdiction of Valenciennes in 1590, and Franco himself was by then established in Cambrai—and while he let Verdussen's first octrooi pass, he took action when the French-language market was threatened.<sup>136</sup> From 1603, until his son Jan took over the business in 1613, he each year went to the expense

132 Several editions survive in Dutch pamphlet collections. See also Jeroen Salman, *Een hand-druk van de tijd* (Zwolle, 1997), p. 49.

133 'Eenen witten Haen zal in Christenryck groot wonder kraeyen, dat de Berghen daer af zullen weer galmen [...] Eenen witten Haen, verstaen ick den Cardinael de Richelieu [...]', *De wonder-voorzeyde Victorie der Hollanders ende Francoysen Beschreven* (n.p.d. [1635]).

134 'suborné jusques à un Astrologue, pour lui faire prédire que l'année 1645, toutes les choses usurpées retourneroyent a leurs anciens maistres', Antwerp (5 Nov.), no 1644 no. 137 (12 Nov.), p. 954.

135 A. vander Meersch, 'Franco (Jean)', *BNB*, 7 (1880–1883), coll. 256–257. Franco was sometimes referred to as 'ab Eersel', not a surname but a reference to his origins in the village of that name, lying in the heather about ten miles from Eindhoven.

136 ARB, GRSP, 1276/99, 338.

of obtaining a royal octrooi to protect the lucrative Franco prognostications from interlopers.<sup>137</sup>

As early as May 1613 Jan Coninx (died 1623) obtained an octrooi for the prognostications for 1614, and by December he was suing Verhoeven for infringing it.<sup>138</sup> If there was struggle between houses for title to the predictions of famous prognosticators, the situation of the anonymous chronicles was even more dire. Verhoeven's earliest surviving almanac (1616) has a chronicle appended which for the years 1500–1599 contains nothing not also to be found in the Ballo almanac for 1599 or the Coninx almanac for 1611. More seriously from Jan Coninx's point of view, the prognostications were the work of a Maître Jean Baptiste Auxstruies. The titlepage trumpeted that this was 'nephew to the late Jean Franco', with 'Jean Franco' in large red type, and 'Jean Baptiste Auxstruies' in small black letters. Verhoeven also introduced a striking innovation to the chronicle: a picture on every page. The usual editing out to make room for the year's continuation became a ruthless slashing to make way for numerous tiny illustrations of battles, sieges and deformities, and a series of miniature portraits, mostly of sovereigns and governors of the Netherlands. Jan Coninx never bothered to apply for another Privy Council licence, although he seems to have continued to provide almanacs to booksellers in Antwerp, Tournai, Lille and Leuven until his death.<sup>139</sup>

By the late sixteenth century the chronicles appended to almanacs usually commenced in 1500. Each year a full overview of the great public events of the previous year would be added, and less important events of longer ago dropped out to make room. The phrase 'great public events' is question-begging, and the best definition is circular: the sort of events recorded in almanac chronicles. These fell into five categories: the dynastic (births, deaths, marriages), the military (sieges, battles, conquests), the economic (the opening of new markets, exceptional peaks and troughs in commodity prices), the civic (riots, fires, rhetoric competitions), and the prodigious (exotic animals, spectacular deformities and horrible murders). Generally speaking, dynastic and military affairs had the longest life span, being shorn of more and more details before disappearing entirely. The process by which contemporary history was composted down to a core of particularly memorable and important events can be illustrated by the gradual compression of the history of the year 1611 in four almanacs, for the years 1613, 1616, 1617 and 1637.<sup>140</sup> The chronicle appended to Arnout

137 ARB, GRSP, 1276/99, 105, 111, 114, 123, 157, 172.

138 ARB, GRSP, 1276/352, Privy Council to the provost of Valenciennes, 13 December 1613.

139 See E. Duverger (ed.), *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1985), pp. 375–376.

140 All SBA, shelfmark K104242.

Conincx's almanac for 1613 listed fifteen events for 1611, from the displaying of a leopard in Antwerp to the marriage of Mathias, King of Bohemia, to Anne of Styria. Abraham Verhoeven's almanac for 1616 listed only seven events, and Ballo's almanac for 1617 listed only the death of Margaret of Austria. By 1637 even that had disappeared from popular history.

The advent of the newspaper seems to have had a profound impact on these popular chronicles. The amount of information available to compilers meant that the most recent couple of years were dealt with in needlessly detailed catalogues of contemporary history, to make way for which even the only slightly more distant past receded abruptly into oblivion. What was left was the bare bones of popular history: Charles V's birth, the rise of Luther, the Peasants' War, the Battle of Pavia, the Fall of Rhodes, the Sack of Rome, the Siege of Vienna, Henry VIII's apostasy, Charles V's campaigns in Africa and Germany, Philip II's succession in the Netherlands, the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, the Iconoclastic Fury, the beheading of Egmont and Hoorn, the Battle of Lepanto, Alva's Tenth Penny, the Massacre at Paris, the Spanish Fury, the Pacification of Ghent, the assassination of William of Orange, Parma's reconquests of Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp, the French civil war, Maurice's taking of Breda, the Battle of Nieuwpoort, the Siege of Ostend, the Twelve Years' Truce, the murder of Henry IV, the death of Rudolph II—a list that might not be out of place as an appendix to an undergraduate textbook, but spiced with a selection of the more horrible murders and birth defects, and the occasional bearded lady or beached walrus.

But the term 'popular history' needs provisos. Almanacs would have moulded the historical perceptions of the broadest reading public, but while they may have shaped popular memory, they did not naively grow from it. There was a core of historical narrative which it would be difficult for any chronicler to ignore, but human indolence and lack of effective legal protection, rather than a 'collective memory', no doubt account for much of the similarity of coverage from year to year and publisher to publisher. The chronicles were compiled on the basis of learned histories, but the compiler's task was simply a question of copying and pruning. Laurens Van Haecht Goidtsenhoven's illustrated chronicle of the Dukes of Brabant almost certainly influenced almanac compilers, although direct evidence has not been established.<sup>141</sup> Adriaan van Meerbeeck's *Chronijcke van de gantsche werelt* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1620), a fiercely pro-Habsburg and anti-Calvinist world chronicle

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141 *Chroniicke van de hertoghen van Brabant* (Antwerp, Jan-Baptist Vrients, 1606). Second edition Plantin Office (widow and sons of Jan Moretus), 1612.

which was banned by the States of Holland, was condensed by Ferdinand de Hoeymaker of Brussels to append to his almanacs for 1623 and 1624.<sup>142</sup>

The prognostications were the work of highly educated physicians or mathematicians, and the popular chronicles were based on humanist works of history, but even the calendar itself was not free from special interest and individual influence. In 1621, the magistracy of the small East-Flemish town of Geeraardsbergen paid for a gift of wine for almanac-maker Philips De Dyn, because he had agreed to advertise the town's fairs and market days in his calendar.<sup>143</sup> The compilation of almanacs was rooted in the context of small-scale craft production, and has to be seen as subject to the various pressures which could be brought to bear on other aspects of print culture.

Nonetheless, Verhoeven's 1616 almanac shows how slowly the official history of the Revolt was absorbed into popular consciousness, in the face of the persistent tendency simply to copy again what had been copied in earlier years from earlier writers. The barbarities of Alva and the Spanish mutineers could be explained, but not explained away, and there was a continuing tendency to treat the Estates General of 1576, the Archduke Mathias and the Duke of Alençon on a par with governors appointed by the king. Even an outspokenly loyalist publisher such as Verhoeven clearly still considered Mathias and Alençon, who had sworn to uphold the Joyous Entry and been received and recognised by the cities and States, to be among those who had ruled the Netherlands, worthy of listing alongside the blood-thirsty Duke of Alva and the pious Cardinal-Archduke. Most importantly, there was little fear in chronicles of giving premature publicity to the setbacks suffered by loyal forces, and the catalogue of sieges and victories tended to be fairly even-handed, listing the achievements of Maurice and Frederick Henry as well as those of Parma and Spinola. In this sense, they give a fairer picture of what news was public than do celebratory pamphlets. As unlicensed catalogues of undisputed facts, almanacs were potentially a vehicle for undermining the interpretations put out by the regime.

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142 ARB, GRSP, 1277/78.

143 V. Fris, 'Uittreksels der stadsrekeningen van Geeraardsbergen, van 1475 tot 1658', *Bulletijn der Maatschappij van Geschied- en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 20:2 (1912), p. 219.

## Abraham Verhoeven and His *Tijdinghen*, 1620–1632

Having examined the culture of news printing with which the first newspaper publisher of the Habsburg Netherlands was familiar, we can return to 1620, and take a closer look at the man himself, his career, connections and publications. Since Abraham Verhoeven was the first newspaper publisher in the Habsburg Netherlands, and his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was unlike other contemporary newspapers in a number of ways, more space will be devoted to him than to any of the newspaper publishers discussed in later chapters.

Abraham Verhoeven had been producing news prints since 1605, and irregular news pamphlets from 1609. His pamphlets had been appearing at least every ten days in 1617–1619, still under a 1605 licence to print news of Spinola's victories. He obtained the renewal of this licence from the Council of Brabant on 28 January 1620, having it extended as a monopoly (within the Duchy of Brabant) to print news of victories and sieges in the Empire and the Low Countries, 'and other reports'—a very broad remit indeed, extended to the Habsburg Netherlands as a whole by an octrooi issued by the Privy Council on 6 March.<sup>1</sup> The application for this exclusive licence, probably submitted late in 1619, was preparatory to the forging of his frequent pamphlet issues into a serial newspaper, the first issue of which appeared on 19 February.

The news in this first issue comprised four reports from Vienna, three from Prague, and one each from Rome and Cracow, all about a month old. The main stories, headlined on the front page above a composite woodcut showing a town, a fort and a military encampment by a riverbank, were two minor victories for the Habsburg cause in Central Europe: the taking of Týn in Bohemia by Don Baltasar de Marradas, commander of the imperial garrison at Budweis, and the taking of Ybbs in Lower Austria by the Count of Bucquoy—extending the emperor's military presence a few miles along the Vltava and the Danube respectively.

### Reputation in a Time of Crisis

In the Spring of 1620 the Habsburgs' full military response to the Bohemian revolt of 1618 was finally to be initiated, and preparations were already in full

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1 ARB, GRSP, 1277/70.



swing at the courts of Vienna, Brussels and Madrid, and among the leaders of the German Catholic League. This was the political-military background to Verhoeven printing news of imperial operations in Bohemia and Austria. Many of the troops were natives of the Habsburg Netherlands and commanded by Flemish noblemen, foremost among them Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy, and Jean t'Serclaes, Count of Tilly. There was something of a sense, especially in Walloon Flanders, that the many Netherlandish gentlemen going to the war in Bohemia were undertaking a glorious crusade.<sup>2</sup> In Antwerp, Habsburg loyalists even went so far as to provide voluntary subscriptions for the maintenance of the Walloon soldiery in Bohemia. A 'Sodalitatis Christianae Defensionis', or Sodality for the Defence of Christendom, was founded in Vienna, and then in other Catholic and Habsburg territories, its 'main and sole end' being to pray for the conservation of legitimate authority and whenever possible to contribute financially towards its defence from the Turks and the rebels of Bohemia, Hungary and Austria.<sup>3</sup> In Antwerp the main organisers of fund-raising were Aubertus Miraeus (1573–1640), a canon of Antwerp cathedral who was also a chaplain at the Brussels court; the Flemish Jesuit Carolus Scribani (1561–1629), already mentioned as an anti-Machiavellian political philosopher; and Jan de Gaverelle (1579–1645), pensionary to the city since 1617 and lay head of the Sodality of the Scapular of Our Lady. The Portuguese intelligencer Manuel Sueyro also appears to have been involved in this project.<sup>4</sup> Albert wrote to Fr Scribani on 10 February to thank him for his efforts and success in gaining pledges, and Spinola wrote to the same effect five days later.<sup>5</sup> The Sodality for the Defence of the Faith received an Archducal charter granting it formal recognition as a corporate entity on 30 May.<sup>6</sup> In the one year for which subscriptions were raised, a hundred and fifty-eight pledges were received, totalling 46,200 florins, amounting to one year's pay for 308 infantry soldiers.<sup>7</sup> This was not much more than 2 per cent of the more than two million florins that the Spanish Crown was to spend on the war in Bohemia in

2 Louis de Cornet, *Histoire générale des guerres de Savoie, de Bohême, du Palatinat & des Pays-Bas*, ed. A.L.P. de Robaux de Soumoy (1868), pp. xxi–xxiii.

3 V. Brants, 'La Société de Défense de la Foi sous Albert et Isabelle', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, vol. 36 (1910), pp. 169, 182.

4 *CCE*, vol. 1, pp. 552–3. The one mention of Scribani in the correspondence between Philip IV and Isabella occurs in relation to Sueyro's intelligencing (*CCE*, vol. 2, p. 405).

5 Louis Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561–1629* (Antwerp, 1961), p. 407.

6 'Approbation de la Société de Défense de la Foi par les Archiducs. Diest, 30 mai 1620' *ROPB Albert & Isabella*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1912), pp. 467–468.

7 SAA, Privilegiekamer 1588, 'Guerre de Bohême. 1620. Souscription pour l'entretien de l'armée'.

1619–1621.<sup>8</sup> While that is by no means negligible, the main gain was that a substantial proportion of the urban elite of Antwerp now felt they had a personal stake in the war.

The names of the Antwerp contributors are almost certainly the closest thing there is to a list of Verhoeven's main target readership: wealthy loyalists with an interest in regular reports on the military advances in Bohemia. There was, however, more to Verhoeven's timing than a desire to sell to the converted. In late 1619, when he submitted his application for a new licence, news reporting was a sensitive political issue for quite a different reason. During the summer there had been political turmoil in the city of Brussels.<sup>9</sup> In May the 'Nine Nations', the Brussels guilds whose consent was necessary before their city's vote in the States of Brabant was binding, refused to ratify the renewal of the duties on beer, wine, grain and meat (the 'four species of consumption') until grievances concerning the neglect of their customary privileges were redressed. Although protesting their willingness to pay after redress, there is some likelihood that they were also concerned about the level and intended use of peacetime taxation.

It may seem undemocratic to modern sensibilities that the guilds of Brussels were able to veto the voting of taxes that had already been approved by all the other members of the States of Brabant – clergy, nobility, the other three chief cities of the duchy, and the patricians of their own city. But the Brabantine constitutional principle of no taxation without full consent was not to be lightly overridden. Its flouting had contributed significantly to the revolt of 1572 against Alva's Tenth Penny, a steep but not unprecedented ten per cent sales tax. In 1619, when attempts were made to collect the duties on the 'four species' as usual, the Nine Nations forcibly prevented collection, the occasion of public disorder. The Dutch fleet was cruising in the Scheldt estuary, ready to offer support if it came to rebellion.<sup>10</sup> In September, after lengthy negotiations had failed, eight infantry companies were sent to impose order. At the arrival of the army, the guilds stood down and on 23 September the Count of Emden's German infantry occupied the city without incident.<sup>11</sup> The decision to deploy

8 Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London, etc., 2009), p. 297.

9 L. Galesloot (ed.), *Troubles de Bruxelles de 1619* (Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique 27; 1868), *passim*; also summarised in Karin Van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet en oproer in de 17de en 18de eeuw: Collectieve acties tegen het centraal gezag in Brussel, Antwerpen en Leuven* (Standen en Landen 98; 1994), pp. 97–101.

10 Alexandre Henne & Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles*, edited by Mina Martens, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1969), p. 30.

11 Henne & Wauters, vol. 2, p. 29.

‘German’ troops (a designation that included Dutch and Flemish recruits) rather than Spaniards, Italians, or even Burgundians or Walloons, probably shows a desire to minimise potential causes of friction.

The proclamation granting pardon to all but the ringleaders, who were exiled from the Netherlands (ultimately also to be reprieved), was circulated to the Councils of Flanders and Artois, and to the magistracies of Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Tournai and Lille.<sup>12</sup> The actual enactment was given briefly at the very end, preceded by a lengthy justificatory preamble setting out the position of the Archdukes and stressing the ‘unreasonableness’ of the Nine Nations. The document was clearly more an exercise in propaganda than in legislation. It is difficult to tell just how revolutionary the atmosphere was in Brussels that summer, but the Archdukes saw the matter as a serious challenge to their authority, and unusually spent almost the whole summer outside the city, choosing to reside at Mariemont near Mons (a summer retreat otherwise seldom used for more than a fortnight at a time) and to travel directly to the castle of Tervuren (their favoured hunting lodge) in the autumn.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, however, they managed to get their way and present themselves as firm yet forgiving parents to their wayward subjects.

An unwelcome alternative view of the tax strike came from an unlikely, and possibly unwitting, source: the Coninx almanac. Late in 1619 Jan Coninx produced an almanac for the year 1620 with a chronicle that gave prominent coverage to the past year’s events in Brussels. Since almanacs were not ‘substantial’ works, they were not subject to government approval under the regulations for the Antwerp book trade promulgated in 1612, and the general regulations of 1616, unless the publisher chose to apply for an octrooi. Preventive censorship having been bypassed, only reactive censorship was left: horrified royal and civic officers scurried to suppress and confiscate the offending booklets, which had already been distributed in both Antwerp and Brussels.<sup>14</sup> It was soon after this that orders were given that the archducal proclamation on the tax strike, already circulated to provincial and local authorities in manuscript, be

12 M. Gachard, *Documents inédits concernant les troubles de la Belgique* vol. 1 (Brussels, 1838), p. xl.

13 The peacetime routine of the archdukes can be traced in Albert’s correspondence with the King of Spain, in *CCE* vols 1 & 6, and with his brothers and cousins in Austria, in Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv (Vienna), Familienkorrespondenz, Kart. 5, 9–12, 27–28, 31–33, 35.

14 Antwerp civic ordinance of 18 Nov. 1619: ‘Cronykken gedrukt achter den almanak voortjaer 1620 verboden, de exemplairen van’t selve moeten ingebracht worden’; summary in SAA, Pk 919, fo. 114; see also secretary of state della Faille to chancellor Peckius, 24 Nov. 1619, and Peckius to della Faille, 25 Nov. 1619, cited in Gachard, *op. cit.*, p. xli.

printed in Dutch and French for wider circulation.<sup>15</sup> Such concerns about the image of the sovereigns were the main domestic reason for news publishing being a sensitive issue. Hoping to capitalise on the sudden political sensitivity of almanacs, Hieronymus Verdussen the younger submitted an application for a monopoly on the very lucrative business of almanac publication, but was turned down. His application was to have repercussions a decade later.

Foreign policy was no less sensitive than domestic unrest. The sending of troops to aid the Emperor was not everywhere greeted with the enthusiasm of Antwerp's Sodality for the Defence of the Faith. The political-military context of the birth of both this brotherhood and Verhoeven's newspaper was that of the sending of veterans from the Army of Flanders and new recruits from the Loyal Provinces to fight in Bohemia and the Palatinate. This was not entirely a cause for national self-congratulation: there seems to have been some concern, although the evidence is largely from hostile Dutch pamphlets, playing up any cause for dissatisfaction in the South, that national defence was being subordinated to dynastic interests in foreign parts, and on the very eve of the expiry of the Truce.<sup>16</sup> Similar concerns were voiced by the loyal states about support for the French Catholic League in 1594, intervention in Mantua in 1628, and support for the Fronde in 1653, so there is every likelihood that support for the Emperor was not universally popular in 1620.<sup>17</sup>

Verhoeven went to some lengths to demonstrate that events in Bohemia and the Palatinate were intimately connected to the struggle against the Dutch, who were at the heart of an international conspiracy to undermine princely authority. Indeed, every aspect of the model of political Calvinism and illegitimate government developed in the 1580s was reproduced in Verhoeven's pamphlets of the 1610s and newspapers of the 1620s. Not only was the 'Calvinist international' still alive and well, and identified with open rebellion in France, the Low Countries, Bohemia and Hungary, as well as with dangerous political agitation in England,<sup>18</sup> but one of Verhoeven's contributors, and possible editors, was Richard Verstegan, the man whose *Theatrum Crudelitatum* and other

15 Peckius to della Faille, 11 Dec. 1619; della Faille to Peckius, 12 Dec. 1619, cited in Gachard, op. cit., p. xl. *Declaratie ende decret van haere doorluchtichste hoocheden Op de Requeste van die vande Natien der Stadt van Brussele* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1619).

16 M. Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdletteratuur in de eerste helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp, 1933), pp. 122–127.

17 G. Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, p. 230; C. Terlinden, *Aartshertogin Isabella* (Brussels, 1943), p. 160; J. Israel, 'Spain and Europe', in *Conflicts of Empires* (London & Rio Grande, 1997), p. 131.

18 See e.g. London (4 Feb.), *NT* 1622 no. 22 (16 Feb.)

activities as newswriter and publicist had done so much to establish the original model.<sup>19</sup>

The decision of the Council of Brabant and of the Privy Council to allow Verhoeven a monopoly on news publication is remarkable when compared with their refusal to grant a monopoly on almanac publication to the more reputable Verdussen.<sup>20</sup> While octroois were granted for specific works as a matter of course, to issue one for an entire genre was an unusual step. The only comparable monopolies were those of the Plantin Office for the missals and offices of the reformed Roman rite, and of Joachim Trognesius for the textbooks of the Jesuit colleges. In both cases, the central justification for the monopoly was the requirement of a high standard of quality and uniformity in the finished product.<sup>21</sup> Verhoeven's monopoly was nothing like so wide-ranging, but its very existence suggests that something of the same concern for uniformity prompted a favourable response to his submission. All this explains why the central authorities were willing to issue a monopoly, but hardly why Verhoeven was considered a suitable recipient. While it is not certain that powerful patrons had to be active on his behalf in 1620 for him to have obtained the monopoly, other circumstances show that he must have enjoyed patronage at the highest level of city government, if not beyond.

### Abraham Verhoeven

Verhoeven's immediate family and trade connections were not extraordinary. His father, another Abraham Verhoeven, had been an illuminator for Plantin and died when his son was only a boy. His mother was Catharina Segers, who after 1585 was in no hurry to abandon her Calvinist principles. On 29 August 1589, just two days before the expiry of the term set for Protestants to leave the city, she had her two children, Abraham and Catherina Verhoeven, received into the Catholic Church in the Cathedral of Our Lady. The children's godparents were their aunt Lisken Segers, the printer Hendrik Wouters and his wife Elizabeth Pauwijns.

19 Verstegan's editorial work on *NT* was first identified in W.J.C. Buitendijk, 'Richard Verstegen als verteller en journalist', *Nieuwe Taalgids* 46 (1953), pp. 26–30; his satirical work in E. Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen* (Brussels, 1933), pp. 302–310.

20 On Verhoeven's disreputableness and the respectability of the Verdussens, see below pp. 83 & 184.

21 SAA, GA, Sint-Lucasgilde, unnumbered.

The beginnings of Verhoeven's professional life are obscure, since his apprenticeship does not appear to have been registered. Alphonse Goovaerts, writing in the late nineteenth century, suggested that Verhoeven may have been apprenticed to his future father-in-law Antoon Spierincx the elder (ca. 1555–1625), a printer and seller of playing cards, prayer cards, engravings and woodcuts, established in the 'Golden Hand' on the Lombardenvest since 1584.<sup>22</sup> F. J. Van den Branden, however, thought it more likely that he learnt the printing trade from his godfather Hendrik Wouters, whose shop the 'Golden Sun' was on the Kammerstraat, the street running from the Lombardenvest towards the main marketplace.<sup>23</sup> Wouters died in 1591, when Verhoeven was sixteen. The 'Golden Sun' passed to Wouters's step-son, Jan Van Keerbergen (1565–1621). Van Keerbergen was a child of the first marriage of Elizabeth Pauwijns, Wouters's widow and godmother to Verhoeven's sister. The same Van Keerbergen was to be one of the witnesses at the wedding of Abraham Verhoeven and Susanna Spierincx.

When Verhoeven completed his apprenticeship and became a journeyman printer is unknown, as is whether he stayed in Antwerp or travelled from shop to shop in France or the Rhineland, learning the languages and making the connections that he would have needed if he edited his newspaper himself. Such itinerant day-jobbing was an established part of craft training, a sort of unofficial 'finishing'. In 1604, at the age of twenty-nine, he became a freeman of the Guild of St Luke, registering as a printmaker. On 15 February 1604 he married Susanna Spierincx in Antwerp Cathedral, the vows witnessed by the printer Jan Van Keerbergen and the stationer Jan Verspreet.<sup>24</sup> It was with the bridal portion of 1000 guilders that Verhoeven set up shop in the house 'Turnhout' on the Lombardenvest. He renamed the premises 'The Golden Sun', presumably after the shop on the Kammerstraat run first by Wouters and then by Van Keerbergen.

On 9 June 1605 the couple's first child, Abraham (III) Verhoeven, was baptised. The godparents were the maternal grandmother, Catherina Baert, and a printer, Michiel Nuyts (or Nutius), who had strong trade connections to the Spanish market. Five more children were to follow, and the identity of their godparents defines the immediate social world of the Verhoevens as that of skilled craftsmen, either in the same guild or the same neighbourhood: the engraver and art dealer Jan Lieftrinck the younger and his daughter Maria Lieftrinck, René and Elisabeth Wichelinck, René van den Bergh, Philip Bovir,

22 Goovaerts, *Abraham Verhoeven*, p. 20; Leon Voet, 'Typografische bedrijvigheid', in *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw* (Antwerp, 1975), p. 250.

23 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan van het nieuwsblad*, p. 42.

24 Goovaerts, *Abraham Verhoeven*, p. 21.

Maria Couckaert, the painter Roland Jacobs, Catherina van der Ven and the Verhoevens' next-door-neighbour, Anna van der Veken.<sup>25</sup>

Late in 1605, Verhoeven applied for a royal licence as a printer, which he had formerly, as an engraver and printmaker, not needed. On 1 December 1605 the aldermen of Antwerp took evidence as to Verhoeven's suitability.<sup>26</sup> His father-in-law, Anthonius Spierincx, the book printer Hendrik Swinghen, and the glasspainter Johan Baptist van der Veken were willing to swear that they had known Verhoeven since his youth to be 'A man of honour standing in good name, report, of good and peaceable life'.<sup>27</sup> Testimonials to his religious orthodoxy and practice were supplied by Egbert Spethold, a canon of the cathedral, who as an ecclesiastical censor was well acquainted with the book trade and its practitioners. As with the witnesses to his marriage and the godparents of his children, Verhoeven's contacts seem to have been circumscribed almost entirely by trade and neighbourhood associations. As has been said, though, he must have had more influential contacts: not so much to obtain a renewal of his licence in 1620, as to avoid prosecution for a number of violent acts.

His independent career began well, but three years after his marriage he was being sued by Jan Verspreet, the stationer who had been a witness at his wedding, for non-payment of 600 guilders long due for paper delivered.<sup>28</sup> Despite this, he remained on good terms with Verspreet, who was to support him in a reconciliation with his wife, and his business thrived. His 1605 licence to print military victories meant he had exclusive rights to the most valuable segment of the current-affairs market, and he engraved or commissioned a series of beautiful plates, the first depicting the battle of Bloklersdijk (17 May 1605) in which the Antwerp garrison repulsed an amphibious force attempting to establish a bridgehead on the opposite bank of the Scheldt. This was followed by prints of Spinola's reconquests of Oldenzaal, Lingen and Wachtendonck (1605), and Groenlo and Rheinberg (1606), and later his siege of Aachen (1614).<sup>29</sup> He continued to print such plates after launching the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. He also printed news pamphlets, including one on the treaty that ended the Long Turkish War.<sup>30</sup>

25 Goovaerts, *Abraham Verhoeven*, pp. 33–34; Jan Liefvrick's business in Leon Voet, 'Typografische bedrijvigheid', in *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw* (Antwerp, 1975), p. 248.

26 SAA, Scabinale protocollen, 1605, vol. 2, sub. Moy & Neesen, fo. 537, cited Goovaerts, p. 32.

27 'een man met eeren staende tot goeden name, fame, van goet ende paisibel leven'.

28 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan*, pp. 48–49.

29 See Christiaan Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 35 (Roosendaal, 1990), pp. 218–226.

30 *Verhael vande articulen vanden peyse...* (1607).

At the proclamation of the Truce in 1609, Verhoeven brought out woodcuts, prints and newsbooks showing the diplomats involved and the ceremony of proclamation, and describing the fireworks, bonfires, public joy, and the great crowds of northern sight-seers who flocked to Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch after so many years of passports, licences and checkpoints.<sup>31</sup> There is no evidence (beyond the vague terms of his 1605 octrooi) that he was exclusive printer of the news, but his productions predominate among the few such works surviving, suggesting that he had cornered the market. In 1612 Verhoeven and his mate, Jan Lambrechts, printed seven reams of prayer cards to be sent to Douai, almost 150 miles away, evidence of a fairly wide reputation for that kind of work—although hardly comparable with publishers such as Adrian Huberti and Philip Galle, who commissioned images to be sold at pilgrimage shrines in Spain, the Rhineland and Bohemia, and whose prints circulated as far as Mexico, Peru and the Far East.<sup>32</sup> The following year, if not sooner, he branched out into almanac printing, becoming an established figure in that genre for several years. He probably kept up these sidelines throughout his years as a newspaper publisher.<sup>33</sup>

In 1617 he won the contract to do the printing, in Italian, Spanish, French, German and Dutch, for the fund-raising lottery for the establishment of the Mounts of Mercy in the Netherlands, with guaranteed minimum sales of two hundred thousand copies. The contract was awarded by Matthias Micheli, superintendent of the lottery.<sup>34</sup> This could be seen as showing that Verhoeven was able to offer speedy, cheap and high-quality ephemeral printing, although it might indicate no more than clientage of the circle involved in the scheme to erect low-interest loan banks—a scheme under the protection of the Chancellor of Brabant, Peter Peckius, and the Archbishop of Mechelen—or simply a connection with Micheli himself.<sup>35</sup> The official printing in Brussels

31 See *Recueil de pieces sur la treve d'Anvers*, SBA (no. K16588).

32 A.K.L. Thijs, *Antwerpen internationaal uitgeverscentrum van devotieprenten* (Leuven, 1993), pp. 25–37.

33 Each year from 1628 to 1633 the parish accounts of the church of St Jacob in Antwerp record payments to 'Abram' Verhoeven for picture cards to be distributed on the feast of St James. P. Rombouts & T. Van Lierus (eds), *Liggen en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, vol. 1 (Antwerp & The Hague, 1864), p. 426 note 4.

34 Van den Branden, pp. 50–51. A copy of the Spanish edition, *Blanca o Loteria general, que se instituye en la villa de Brusselas, para el Monte de Piedad*, survives in KBB; the French edition, *Blanques ou Loteries Generales*, in ARB.

35 NT 1622 no. 48 (6 April) carried a story urging readers not to miss the lottery draw in Brussels on 21 April, the proceeds of which were to fund the new borstal. This lottery was also managed by Micheli and advertised by Jan Mommaert. See A.K.L. Thijs, 'Les loteries



was carried out by Jan Mommaert. Mommaert was printer to the city of Brussels, an official position, but he was also a printer who in the decade 1616–1626 had business connections with Verhoeven.<sup>36</sup> In 1618 an established printer from Delft, Cornelis Michielsen, came to Antwerp to have Verhoeven teach him polychrome pattern printing on all sorts of fabrics, testimony that his reputation and skills were wide indeed.<sup>37</sup>

But by then Verhoeven's troubles had already begun. At the end of 1617 his wife had moved back to her father's house, leaving the children with Verhoeven but taking her jewels and a good part of their furniture, while he was suing for divorce in the ecclesiastical court. On 21 January 1618, a meeting between the parties was arranged at the house of the notary Dirk Fabri, and Verhoeven and his wife were reconciled.<sup>38</sup> In the plague year 1625 both of them made out wills, each making the other sole beneficiary.<sup>39</sup> Although reconciled with his wife, it was in 1618 that Verhoeven embarked on a seemingly related vendetta against the brothers Santus and Jacob Gabron and their families. He entered their house and spoke insultingly and threateningly to their father, insulted their mother in the street, let off a pistol through their window, and on different occasions in 1619 and 1620 injured each of the brothers with a sabre.<sup>40</sup> His actions culminated in April 1620 with another attack on Jacob Gabron, in the course of which Verhoeven received a rapier-wound in the chest. While the city magistrates had winked at his own attacks, they took his injuries seriously, issuing a warrant for Gabron, who fled the city.<sup>41</sup> That Verhoeven not only escaped prosecution for his actions but, at the height of his feud, obtained a valuable monopoly from the central authorities, testifies to the power of whatever clique made up his patrons.

The identity of Verhoeven's protectors can only be guessed at. One clue is the dedications of his works. His print of the battle of Blokkersdijk was dedicated to Don Iñigo de Borja, governor of the citadel of Antwerp—but since

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dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux (XVe-XVIIe siècle)'; p. 35; and *Ghetrouwe ende rycke loterije die opgerecht wort inde princelijcke stadt van Brussele* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1621).

36 See below, p. 192.

37 Van den Branden, p. 51. Pace Kristin Van Damme & Jeroen Deploige, 'Slecht nieuws geen nieuws', *BMGN*, 113:1 (1998), p. 7, there is no reason to assume that Verhoeven set up his newspaper because he had failed to establish himself in more traditional areas of the market.

38 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan*, pp. 54–55.

39 Van den Branden, *Ontstaan*, p. 61.

40 SAA, Requestboek, 1619–1620, fo. 180v<sup>o</sup>, cited Van den Branden, p. 58.

41 SAA, Requestboek, 1619–1620, fo. 257v<sup>o</sup>, cited Van den Branden, p. 58.

Borja was the hero of the hour, this is hardly proof of a 'client' relationship.<sup>42</sup> The same is perhaps true of the hero-worship of Spinola that Verhoeven promoted in his coverage of the Marquis's campaigns in the eastern provinces in 1605–7, in Jülich-Cleves in 1609–14, in the Palatinate in 1620, in Jülich in 1621, and in Brabant in 1622–25. As the main commander of the Army of Flanders he was bound to be presented eulogistically in a loyalist war-time newspaper, and other commanders in the Habsburg armies, especially Flemish noblemen such as the counts of Bucquoy, Tilly and Bergh, were given similar, though less extensive, coverage.

Here, though, there is more likelihood of clientage: Spinola was not the hero of an hour, but of almost everything Verhoeven published, to a greater extent than even the Genoese general's long and distinguished career would otherwise warrant. In his 1616 almanac chronicle, Verhoeven included, besides the miniature woodcut portraits of the sovereigns and governors, one portrait of Bucquoy and two of Spinola. To single out the two to this extent is remarkable, as was the retention, a decade after the event, of mention that Spinola had been invested with the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Brussels in 1605. Similarly, one report of the Archduke Albert's funeral in 1622 made suspiciously much of the fact that the son of the late Count of Bucquoy carried the helmet of the late Archduke Albert in the cortege, and Verhoeven was reprinting Bucquoy's portrait on calendars at least as late as 1626. Verhoeven's first licence, in 1605, mentioned Spinola by name; his second, in 1620, Bucquoy and Dampierre.

Spinola had a pronounced interest in projecting a particular public profile and was greatly concerned about his own reputation, as has already been mentioned above. Figures close to him put out books emphasizing his abilities and achievements. His chief of staff, Pompeo Giustiniano, wrote one such memorial *Delle guerre di Fiandra*, edited and illustrated by Giuseppe Gamurini and published at Antwerp by Joachim Trognesius in 1609 with a fulsome dedication to Spinola (reprinted Venice, 1612).<sup>43</sup> After the surrender of Breda, Spinola's confessor, the Jesuit Herman Hugo, who had been a pupil of Carolus Scribani and dedicated his first published work to him, wrote a Latin account of the

42 Iñigo de Borja was to become one of Spinola's many detractors among the Spanish commanders in Flanders; see Jean Thymon to William Trumbull (Brussels, October 1615), in HMC, *Downshire*, vol. 5 (London, 1988), p. 351. For a brief statement of why Spinola was so objectionable to Spaniards, see Juan Roco de Campofrio, *España en Flandes* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 291–292.

43 A Latin translation came out in Cologne in 1611, dedicated to the Bavarian field marshal Count Fürstenberg.

siege, the *Obsidio Bredana* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1626).<sup>44</sup> This was translated into Spanish by Manuel Sueyro, into two different English versions by Captain Gerrat Barry and by Colonel Henry Gage, and into French by Philippe Chifflet.<sup>45</sup> But it seems unlikely that the commander-in-chief would himself deal with a newspaper publisher.

Those active on Verhoeven's behalf must be sought in slightly less exalted positions, among the disseminators of Spinola's fame and the cultural brokers of the archdukes' regime. Many of the same names recur here as among those involved in the Sodality for the Defence of the Faith, in publicising the miracles at the Marian shrines of Halle and Scherpenheuvel, and in the erection of the Mounts of Mercy. They were members of a specific and much-studied subsection of Flemish high society, made up of jurists, artists and humanists, with mutual ties by cousinship or marriage, through a shared education or a pupil-teacher relationship.<sup>46</sup> This grouping of armigerous burghers, ennobled lawyers and career ecclesiastics was central to the presentation of the archdukes' image in the Netherlands and abroad, and it is their portrayal which seems to have determined much of the historiographical emphasis of succeeding generations.

### The Legacy of Lipsius

Any discussion of early-seventeenth-century humanism in Antwerp is almost bound to start with Peter Paul Rubens's *Four Philosophers*, depicting Justus Lipsius, two of his pupils, Philip Rubens and Joannes Woverius, and the painter himself, sitting around a table under a niche containing a bust of Seneca. Although he had died in 1606, Lipsius still dominated the intellectual life of Antwerp in 1620. His European influence was enormous, and was to grow rather than decline in the years after 1620, as men trained up on Lipsian political precepts came to power in Spain and France.<sup>47</sup> In the Low Countries, Lipsian influence was even more direct. As professor of Latin at the universities of Leiden (1579–1591) and Leuven (1592–1606), he had formed two generations

44 Brouwers, *Scribani*, pp. 107–108.

45 *Sitio de Breda* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1627); *Seige of Breda* (Leuven, Hastens office, 1627); *Siege of Breda* ([Ghent], Judocus Doods, 1627); *Le siege de la ville de Breda* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1631).

46 See e.g. Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, 1991).

47 On Lipsius's European reputation see Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge, 1982); on his influence on Olivares and Richelieu, J.H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 25–30; in Spain more generally, Henry

of Netherlandish intellectuals. His pupils, avid cultivators of the Lipsian brand of stoicism and a supposedly disinterested engagement with public life, were to be found in positions of authority and influence throughout the Low Countries.

Philip Rubens (1574–1611) was one of Lipsius's favourite pupils at Leuven, and succeeded Bochijs as secretary of Antwerp in 1609.<sup>48</sup> His promise was left unfulfilled at his early death. Joannes Woverius (1575–1625) not only studied under Lipsius, but had lodged in his house at Leuven and was executor of his will. After several terms as an alderman of Antwerp, he entered the central administration late in 1620 as a member of the Council of Finances, and became secretary to the chancery of Brabant in 1621.<sup>49</sup> In the early 1620s newsletters 'Italicas' and 'orbis res gestas' were circulating between Woverius, Balthasar Moretus (then head of the Plantin Office), and Peter-Paul Rubens, and it has been suggested that these may have included, or been used as sources for, editions of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, although there is no direct evidence of this.<sup>50</sup> Woverius's explicit comparison of the 'orbis res gestas' to the diurnals of ancient Rome certainly suggests both a degree of publicity congruent with print publication and a novelty which newswriting did not have.

Woverius's wife was Marie Clarisse, the daughter of Rogier Clarisse, an important financier whose son, Louis-Rogier, was to be *asentista* in the early 1640s. His sister, Maria van de Wouwere, married Jean della Faille (1569–1641), a wealthy merchant who purchased the lordship of Rijmenam in 1628.<sup>51</sup> Jean and Maria's son, Jean-Charles della Faille (1597–1652), made his profession in the Society of Jesus in 1623 and was to become cosmographer royal in Spain and tutor to Don Juan José de Austria.<sup>52</sup> Jean's cousin, Etienne della Faille, was a goldsmith who did a lot of work for the court.<sup>53</sup> The Sodality for the Defence

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Ettinghausen, *Francisco Quevedo* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 12–15; in Central Europe, R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (n.p., 1997), pp. 95–97.

48 Jan Van der Stock, 'Onbekende documenten uit het familiearchief van Rubens', in *Rubens and His World* (Antwerp, 1985), pp. 129–130.

49 Inge Ghijs, 'Wouwere (Woverius), Jan van de', *nbw* 13 (1990), coll. 889–891.

50 Max Roose & Ch. Ruelens (eds), *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, vol. 3 (Antwerp, 1900), pp. 110–112, with particular reference to the *Nouvelles certaines d'Italie* (Antwerp, Verhoeven, 1623), and the various issues headlined *Gazette Universele* (1620).

51 Yves Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 5 (Brussels, 1974), pp. 2–3, 42–63.

52 Elliott, *Spain and Its World* (New Haven & London, 1989), p. 158.

53 J. Lefèvre, 'Les livres de raison de l'Archiduc Albert (1612–1618)', *Miscellanea Lucienne Van Meerbeeck* (*Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 42:1–2, 1971), p. 160. On the family connection, see Schmitz, *Les della Faille*, vol. 3 (1967), p. 54.

of the Faith obtained pledges for substantial sums from Woverius, Clarisse and the della Failles.

Another scholar worth mentioning is the archducal cosmographer, Michiel Coignet (1549–1623). In 1620 he surveyed the road from Milan to Antwerp via Switzerland, Franche-Comté, Lorraine and Luxemburg, and in 1621 the resulting map was printed by Verhoeven as a broadsheet.<sup>54</sup> (Figure 1) This *Tabula geographica* was an official publication, the print once more attesting to Verhoeven's links with the intellectual establishment and with the authorities. The connections between all of these men are fairly clear, but their connection to Abraham Verhoeven less so. Two Antwerp scholars, however, definitely had something to do with the contents of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Letters about what was to be included in the paper passed between Aubertus Miraeus (Le Mire) and Gaspar Gevartius (Gevaerts).

Miraeus was a student who came to Lipsius's attention for his connections and his industry rather than his intellect – his biographer records sixty-three books published between 1602 and 1640.<sup>55</sup> The son of a Brussels cloth merchant who had become an official of the treasury under Parma, and the nephew of a professor at Douai, Miraeus had come under the influence of Lipsius when studying Arts at Leuven. He went on to study Theology, and in 1598 was nominated to a canonry in Antwerp cathedral. His first scholarly publication, the *Elogia illustrium Belgii scriptorum* (1602), was a work of Latinising verse and literary history prefixed by a commendatory verse from Lipsius himself. After Lipsius's death in 1606, Miraeus's *Vita sive elogium Justi Lipsii* (Antwerp, 1609) became the closest thing there was to an official biography.

His obituary of Lipsius was preceded by a eulogy of Federigo Spinola, who had died off Sluis in 1603, in the *Gentis Spinulae illustrium elogia*. Published in 1607, it was somewhat belated as an elegy, but the dedication to Ambrogio Spinola listed all the victories of 1605–1607 that Verhoeven had celebrated in prints. A second edition in 1611 brought the Marquis's achievements up to date with the negotiation of the Truce and his activities in the first Jülich-Cleves crisis. Miraeus's uncle, Johannes Miraeus (died 1611), was consecrated bishop of Antwerp in 1604, and Aubertus became his private secretary. In 1613 he became protonotary apostolic, acquiring powers as an apostolic censor, besides his influence on the appointment of diocesan censors.<sup>56</sup> In 1615 he was

54 *Tabula geographica indicans iter novum inter Mediolanum et Antverpiam*. On Coignet see Omer Van de Vyver, 'De wetenschappen', in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw* (Antwerp, 1989), pp. 251–254.

55 M.B.-C. De Ridder, *Aubert Le Mire, sa vie, ses écrits* (Brussels, 1863).

56 De Ridder, p. 28.

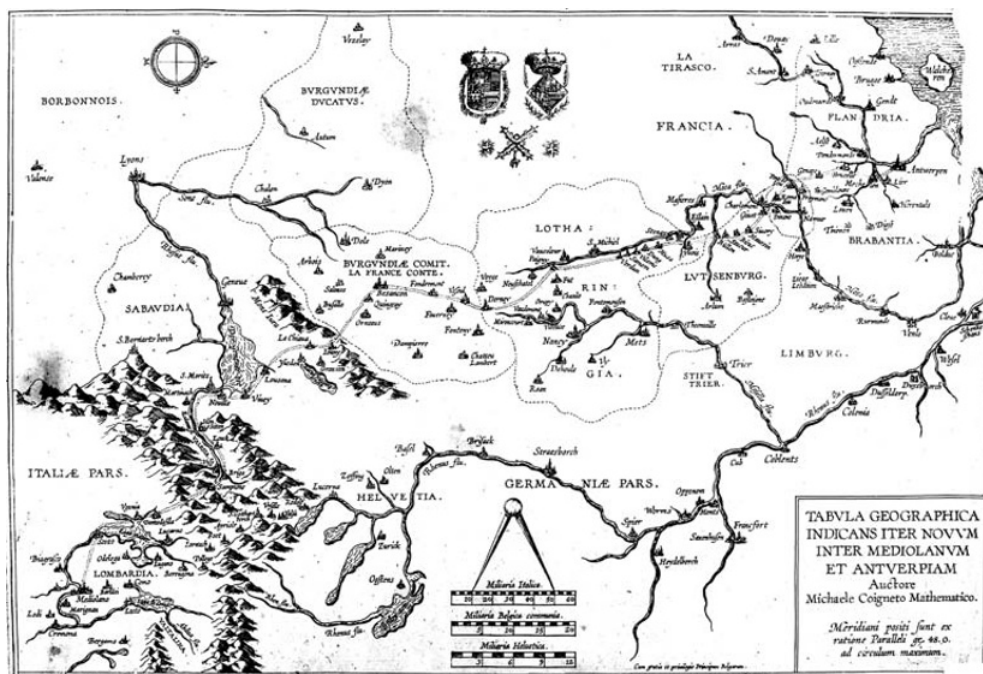


FIGURE 1 The new 'safeguard' route from Milan to Antwerp, surveyed in 1620. Michael Coignet, *Tabula geographica indicans iter novum inter Mediolanum et Antverpiam* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1621).

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appointed a chaplain to the court in Brussels, where he largely resided until 1624, when he was installed as dean of the chapter of Antwerp cathedral. From Brussels he wrote to Gevartius on 9 and 19 October 1620, and 19 and 27 February 1622, with news to be published by Verhoeven.<sup>57</sup> Between these letters he wrote on 26 May 1621 asking Gevartius to convey his regards to a number of friends in Antwerp: Chifflet, Rococx, Rubens, Nuñez, Rosweyde, Schottus and Woverius.<sup>58</sup> In 1620 he wrote to secretary Robiano enclosing 'Certain publications done at Antwerp by my efforts, to put an end to the insolence of the Dutch', unfortunately now missing and unidentifiable.<sup>59</sup> His literary works include *Belli Bohemici origo, progressus, & finis* (1620) and *Historica narratio de rebellione*

57 KBB, MS 5988, fos. 96, 97, 99, 100.

58 Ibid., fo. 98.

59 'quelques publications faites à Anvers par mes soins, dans le but de mettre un terme à l'insolence des Hollandois', quoted in M.B.-C. de Ridder, p. 32 n. 2.

*Hungarorum* (1621), instant histories in a lucid, simple Latin that any European with a grammar education would have been able to read. Both were published by Verhoeven and reprinted in Paris and Cologne. His *Vita Alberti Pii* (1622) was the official biography of the Archduke Albert, and it provided the conceptual framework for the funerary ceremonies and memorials of 1622.

Miraeus is just the sort of multifaceted cultural broker—scholar, censor, preacher, literary patron, pamphleteer—one would expect to mediate the relations between the authorities and the press. But he also shows just how independent the press was. His letters to Gevartius ask him to inform Verhoeven that publication of the enclosed narratives would please certain people in high places: where Cardinal Richelieu could dictate the contents of the Parisian gazette of the 1630s, Miraeus could not bluntly order Verhoeven to include a story without offering at least promises of good will. The exchange was, however, clearly successful. Verhoeven printed stories favourable to the Habsburgs, obtained a vaguely defined but broad monopoly on the current affairs market, and enjoyed immunity from prosecution for his feud with the Gabron brothers.

Gevartius himself (1593–1666) was not a pupil of Lipsius's, only being thirteen when the philosopher died. After studying at the Jesuit college in Antwerp he somehow became attached to the household of the French ambassador in The Hague, where he was a hit with the Dutch humanists. In 1617 he moved to Paris, but by 1620 he was back in the Habsburg Netherlands waiting for a suitable opening. This came in 1621, when he was appointed secretary to the city in Antwerp. He relinquished this post only in 1662, by which time he was historiographer royal and had established a scholarly reputation greater than Miraeus's had ever been.<sup>60</sup> But at the time of Miraeus's first letters on the Valtelline question, he was a young man of twenty-seven, with international connections, at a loose end in Antwerp. Since Miraeus turned to him, a man with no official position, to have news published by Verhoeven, it would seem likely that he was somehow involved with the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Presumably he was cashing in on his international connections by working as a newswriter.

### Verhoeven's Local Sources

Apart from Verstegan, Miraeus and Gevartius, none of Verhoeven's informants can be identified by name. There were, though, a number of groups in Antwerp with whom he appears to have had fairly close dealings, and who were able to

60 L. Roersch, 'Gevaerts (Jean-Gaspard)', *BN* 7 (1880–83), coll. 694–700.

provide him with news from broader areas of the Low Countries and the wider world. These included Dutch Arminians and English Catholic exiles, international merchants, members of international religious orders, and sources in the army and the fleet.

Chronologically, the first identifiable sources were not figures with local influence, but dependent refugees: the Dutch Arminians. In the course of 1617 and 1618, Verhoeven printed several news pamphlets detailing the latest developments in the Arminian controversy in Holland. This remained Verhoeven's main story until the deposition of Ferdinand and the election of Frederick of the Palatinate as king of Bohemia in August 1619, his coverage reaching a peak during the Synod of Dort (November 1618 to May 1619).<sup>61</sup>

Early coverage of the religious controversies in Holland was rather confused. Verhoeven's correspondent does not seem to have been a Calvinist, and was uncertain of the exact nature of the points at issue between the doctrinal followers of the two Leiden theologians Arminius and Gomarus. The emphasis was on the public disorder encouraged by Gomarist preachers and the near state of civil war to which it had brought Holland. During the Synod coverage became more nuanced. The Synod deprived two hundred Arminian preachers of their livings, while in parallel developments Hugo Grotius, pensionary of Rotterdam, was sentenced to life imprisonment, and Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, advocate of Holland, was sentenced to death and duly executed. The biased composition of the Synod, in which the condemnation of the Arminians was a foregone conclusion, and the severity with which the purge was afterwards carried out, led to contributions in Verhoeven's pamphlets from Laurence Beyerlinck and Richard Verstegan, both veteran Calvinist-watchers, elaborating on the theme of 'Calvinist cruelty' so familiar from the 1580s and 1590s. Straightforward news reports also made full use of the topos, for instance 'Summary Narration of the cruel action of the Bloodthirsty Calvinists, committed against the Remonstrants outside Rotterdam', about the way in which British mercenaries had broken up an illegal Arminian service.<sup>62</sup>

But a Catholic perspective was not the only view presented. As the Arminians increasingly became a persecuted minority, they turned to clandestine printing and the presses of the Habsburg Netherlands to publicise their beliefs and express their dissent. In 1619, for instance, there were two Antwerp reprints of *Joannis Calvinii Tyrannien, Scheldinghen, ende leughenen* (John Calvin's

61 On the Synod, see A.W. Harrison, *The Beginnings of Arminianism* (London, 1926), pp. 300–383.

62 *Sommier Verhael van de wreede handlinghe der Bloed-dorstighe Calvinisten, ghepleeght teghen de Remonstranten buyten Rotterdam* (October 1619).



Tyrannies, Insults and lies) by the Arminian firebrand Henricus Slatius, a work first published in Holland in 1616 and subsequently banned by the magistrates of Rotterdam and condemned by the Dutch Reformed classis of South Holland.<sup>63</sup> From the middle of 1618, pamphlets printed in Antwerp were one means for Arminians to express their dissatisfaction, although the lack of regulatory effectiveness in the Northern Netherlands meant many Arminian pamphlets continued to be printed there. After the deprivations of the Synod, Antwerp became the centre of an exile Arminian community, a group of Presbyterians who were tacitly tolerated by the government as long as they caused no scandal.<sup>64</sup> One of those active on their behalf in the Habsburg Netherlands was Jan de Gaverelle, who was unsuccessful in his attempts to engage them in the Habsburg cause.<sup>65</sup> The emphasis of Arminian pamphleteering was on the unreasonableness and ‘conscientie-dwangh’ (conscience-forcing) of the measures taken by the Synod and the States, which went contrary to the rhetoric of Dutch histories of the Revolt and, arguably, to article 13 of the Union of Utrecht. Verhoeven was more interested in playing on fears of the subversion of public order. Mob action, triggered by emotive Gomarist preaching, led to such situations as that in Oudewater, where the Magistrates were forced to sign and proclaim anti-Arminian measures demanded by the mob, or in Leiden, where a house hosting an Arminian lecture was broken into and plundered by an angry crowd.<sup>66</sup>

Hugo Grotius had escaped from prison on 22 March 1621 and travelled to Antwerp, but when the Truce expired he departed Habsburg territory, and most Arminians followed his example, not wishing to have their cause further weakened by fraternising with the enemy.<sup>67</sup> Between mid-1618 and mid-1621, however, they contributed greatly to the pamphlet literature printed in the South, writing on the theological issues of the controversy, but also on legal and political issues raised by the persecution in Holland, and finally simply on current affairs, publicising to the world the plight of their community.<sup>68</sup>

63 W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden Boeken in de Republiek* (The Hague, 1914), pp. 116–117.

64 Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer*, pp. 15–65, esp. 26–27, 31.

65 J. Andriessen, *De jezuïeten en het samenhorigheidsbesef der Nederlanden* (Antwerp, 1957), pp. 311–312.

66 ‘tghene dat tot Oude Water is gheschiedt, daermen de Wet op t’Stadhuys eertijts heeft met ghewelt gedwongen, sulcke Acten te teekenen, ende af te laeten lesen, als het gemeene graeu begheerde’, *Sommier verhael* (1619), p. 9; *Verhael hoe dat in Hollant binnen de stadt Leyden, de Arminianen zijn vergaert geweest* (1619).

67 Andriessen, *Jezuïeten*, pp. 313–314.

68 The best example of a political-legal commentary on the unconstitutional ‘Conscientij-dwangh’ is perhaps *Vrijmoedigh Ondersoeck van verscheyden Placcaten* (‘Vryburch, Adelaert Waermont’ [Antwerp], 1620), attributed variously to Slatius and Uytenbogaert.

The main beneficiaries of this business were Verdussen and Verhoeven. The devotedly Catholic press became, for a while, an organ for the oppositional movement within the Dutch Reformed tradition.

Long before the Dutch Arminians, English Catholics were using the Habsburg Netherlands as a haven for publicising their cause. There were in effect two substantial English Catholic intelligence networks in the early seventeenth century. The first of these, that of the secular clergy, had no apparent connection with Verhoeven's English news.<sup>69</sup> The other was that of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. As early as the 1590s the English Jesuits had, besides their colleges in Spain and Flanders, the lay correspondents Richard Hopkins in Paris, Richard Verstegan in Antwerp, a Mr Shelton in Rouen, Edward Barlow and Francis Rugeley in Bruges, and Anthony Rolston in Spain.<sup>70</sup> They also had their own book-trade networks: English Jesuits in Spain shipped accounts of the persecutions in England to Mexico, the 1596 shipment including 170 copies of Joseph Creswell's *Historia de la vida y martyrio que padeció en Inglaterra este año de 1595 el P. Henrique Valpolo* (Madrid, 1596), a work based on accounts of Henry Walpole's imprisonment, trial and execution sent from Antwerp by Richard Verstegan.<sup>71</sup> Verstegan was extremely well placed to utilise this network, in which he had been a prominent figure since 1590.<sup>72</sup> He was also connected to the della Failles, dedicating works to Maarten della Faille and to his children.

A long editorial in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* enthusiastically supporting the projected marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Maria shows all of Verstegan's stylistic quirks, and marks the beginning of his regular contribution to the paper. It has even been suggested, although without supporting evidence, that he was the editor-in-chief, Verhoeven simply being proprietor-printer.<sup>73</sup> Verstegan's prolific literary output in the years 1617–1622, and the lack of any journalistic work beyond a handful of satires attributable to him in the same years, would seem to argue against any close association with Verhoeven prior to 1623. His involvement also seems to have ceased in 1629, some years before Verhoeven went bankrupt. While he was a close

69 On this correspondence circuit, see Michael C. Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* (Cambridge, 1999).

70 PRO SP 12/233/60, Lewis Lewknor, 'The names of such Englishmen as serve in pensyon under ye K. of Spayne', 1590. This network was of some importance for the secret intelligence of the Spanish Monarchy as a whole (Echevarría, *Diplomacia*, p. 36).

71 Martin Murphy, *St Gregory's College, Seville, 1592–1767* (CRS 73, 1992), p. 21.

72 See A.G. Petti, 'Additions to the Richard Verstegan canon', *Recusant History*, 8 (1966), pp. 291–292.

73 Buitendijk, 'Richard Verstegen', p. 30.

collaborator of Verhoeven's from 1623 to 1629, and seems to have exercised some influence on editorial policy in those years, there is no evidence for the hypothesis that he was Verhoeven's full-time editor throughout.<sup>74</sup>

The only external (rather than stylistic) evidence for Verstegan's journalistic involvement with the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* is circumstantial. A newsletter he sent to the Florentine courtier Sir Robert Dudley in 1628, containing news of the Duke of Buckingham's assassination, was almost word for word the same as the account printed by Verhoeven three days later, down to asides to the reader.<sup>75</sup> There was also news of the King of Denmark's recent reversal in Germany, very close to the news as printed by Verhoeven the previous week.<sup>76</sup>

Verstegan's position in the English Catholic community was not confined to intelligencing. He had also fronted a consortium of English Catholic cloth merchants in Antwerp, and engaged in the clandestine trade in English Catholic books.<sup>77</sup> Although fictionalised, the narrative settings which frame his polemical dialogues are concrete social situations, with some of which he was clearly familiar: an international gathering of merchants dining at an inn in Rouen, booksellers from Holland and Brabant meeting in a Cologne tavern on their way to the Frankfurt fair, Dutch and Flemish burghers meeting on neutral ground while taking the waters at Spa.<sup>78</sup> Verhoeven's own contacts with international merchants cannot be traced in any detail, but in April 1625 he was with the broker Everaard Peeters and other companions in 'Het Steurken' (the Little Sturgeon) when they were asked to witness a notarial act, and in January 1627 he witnessed an assault in a tavern where he was drinking with the silk merchant Balthazar Guens.<sup>79</sup> Since raw silk was imported from Italy along the convoy route from Milan, and from Persia via Aleppo or Constantinople (and thence Venice and Germany), a silk merchant would certainly be someone for Verhoeven to cultivate.<sup>80</sup> He also received stories from members of the

74 Buitendijk, op. cit.

75 Newsletter printed in Anna Maria Crino, *Il Duca di Northumbria in Toscana* (offprint from *English Miscellany* 27–28), pp. 52–53; compare *NT* 1628 no. 107 (27 Sept.). Dudley, an unacknowledged son of the Earl of Leicester, claimed the titles of Leicester, Warwick and Northumberland. See John Temple-Leader, *Life of Sir Robert Dudley* (Florence, 1895; facsimile reprint Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 27, 66, 81.

76 *nt* 1628 no. 100 (15 Sept.).

77 Anthony G. Petti (ed.), *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan* (CRS 52, 1959), p. xli.

78 *Observations Concerning the Present Affaires of Holland* (n.p., 1621); *Londons Looking-glasse* (n.p., 1621); *Anatomie van Calviniste calumnien* (n.p., 1622).

79 Van den Branden, pp. 61–62.

80 Alfons K.L. Thijs, 'De zijdenijverheid te Antwerpen', unpublished licence thesis (Ghent, 1965), pp. 3–6.

Portuguese merchant community, on one occasion opening a report with the detailed sourcing that: 'The Portuguese Merchants of Antwerp are advised by Letters from Calais that News has come there from Lisbon that two Caravels had arrived from Brazil in the West Indies bringing News that...'<sup>81</sup>

A Dutch pamphlet, *Coutenantie van Peter en Pauwels* (1632), accused Maximiliaan Van Habbeke (1580–1637), a popular Jesuit preacher, of having 'encouraged and stiffened' Verhoeven in his newspaper venture, and accused Verhoeven of too lightly believing what 'Pater Maximiliaan and his lot' told him.<sup>82</sup> It is not clear to what extent the attribution of Jesuit involvement is accurate. It is certain that the houses of the Society in different countries kept close contact with one another and Jesuit enthusiasm for the potentials of new media is not in doubt, but this still hardly amounted to the investment of time and money a weekly newspaper would require. A study of Roman festival books has established that of the religious orders the Jesuits made by far the most active use of the press, but this amounted to no more than sponsoring fifteen pamphlets over a period of thirty years.<sup>83</sup> The Viennese newspapers published by Mathäus Formica from 1621 onwards, and used by Verhoeven in his own reporting, do suggest some Jesuit involvement, especially by the prominence of Jesuit activities (lectures, sermons, plays) in the society news from Vienna itself. Friedrich Lebzelter, the Elector of Saxony's agent in Vienna, scrawled 'Jesuwitter Zeittung' on one copy he sent back to Dresden.<sup>84</sup> The extent to which Verhoeven could tap such networks is unclear, as is how 'Jesuit' his own *Tijdinghen* really was.

There can be no doubt that Jesuits would sometimes pass on news which they wanted more widely known, such as reports of Jesuit priests suffering martyrdom in Hungary, or of successful exorcisms carried out by Jesuits in Poland.<sup>85</sup> But the same was true of other orders. Two reports from Salamanca suggest that Augustinians occasionally passed news to Verhoeven

81 'De Portugiessche Coopliden van Antwerpen sijn gheadviseert door Brieven van Calis, dat daer Tijdinghe ghecomen was van Lisbonen datter twee Caravellen waeren daer ghe-arriveert van *Brasilien*, in de *West Indien* die de Tijdinghe brochten dat...' *NT* 1625 no. 31 (18 April).

82 Andriessen, *Jezuïeten*, p. 160.

83 Laurie Nussdorfer, 'Print and Pageantry in Baroque Rome', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29:2 (1998), p. 458.

84 *Ordentliche Zeittungen Auß Wienn, vom 2. Februarij* (1630), SHD, loc. 10716 (Friedrich Lebzelters *Zeittungen*, Jan.-Apr. 1630), fo. 206. The Lebzelters were a noble family from Meissen; see *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (Halle & Leipzig, Johan Heinrich Zedler, 1737), s.v.

85 *NT* 1622 no. 9 (19 Jan.); *NT* 1623 no. 16 (15 Feb.); *NT* 1627 no. 69 (18 June).

for publication. The first of these described the good hopes for the cause of canonisation of the Augustinian Joannes a Facundo.<sup>86</sup> The second contained one item on the death of Jan Berchmans, not the Jesuit saint of that name but a Flemish Augustinian who contracted the plague while tending to sufferers on the ship taking him to the Philippines, and another item on the supposedly highly competitive appointments to chairs of Theology and of Sacred Scripture at Salamanca of Fray Francisco Cornejo and Fray Bernardino Rodríguez, both Augustinians.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, two proclamations of the Turkish Sultan granting the Capuchins permission to preach in his territory were printed by Verhoeven in 1628,<sup>88</sup> and news from Madrid in the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* of 20 September 1630 (no. 89) dealt with the evangelisation of Morocco by Portuguese Minorites. A relation of floods in Malaga was simply a printed copy of a Mercedarian's letter, and another issue was devoted to a Mercedarian martyrdom narrative from Peru.<sup>89</sup> An Augustinian or Jesuit source presumably lay behind a letter from Seville with news from Havana that nine hundred people had died in a hurricane, listing four Augustinians and two Jesuits by name, although it is not clear whether the list is to encourage prayers for these particular victims, or reflects their prominence as individuals.<sup>90</sup> Beyond the statements of Protestant polemicists, who had a tendency to see Jesuit influence in anything they disliked, the evidence for direct Jesuit involvement in Verhoeven's output is not much stronger than that for any other active order. Indirect influence, through a figure like Verstegan, may have been far stronger.

From the very beginning of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, Verhoeven followed the course of the war in the Palatinate in reports not just from local news centres, but also from the army itself. In the late summer of 1620 he even printed a special series, numbered in Roman numerals rather than by consecutive signatures, chronicling the advances of Spinola's army in the Rhineland.<sup>91</sup> Coverage culminated, early in 1621, with a Latin overview of Spinola's victories, no doubt intended for the widest European market: *De Rebus Gestis ab Excellentissimo & fortissimo belli duce, Ambrosio Spinula*. There was no mention of the lack of provision for the defence of the Habsburg Netherlands, nor of the epidemic

86 NT 1621 no. 175 (1 Dec.).

87 WT 1630 no. 38 (31 July). I am grateful to Andrew Hegarty for his advice on this point.

88 NT 1628 no. 112 (13 Oct.).

89 NT 1629 no. 11 (7 Feb.); NT 1625 no. 14 (7 March).

90 NT 1623 no. 35 (24 March). One of the Augustinians was Visitor of his order in Peru; one of the Jesuits was founder and several times rector of the college in Lima.

91 NT 1620 no. I (28 Aug.) to X (28 Sept.).

diseases that so reduced the strength of the Army of the Palatinate, although both were public knowledge.<sup>92</sup>

The war with the Dutch was presented as a religious war, most clearly of all at the very end of the Truce, when the general muster of the Army of Flanders was blessed by a Fray Dominic de los Escalsos, who was reported to have addressed the troops in Spanish and in French with the words:

As you carry a Rapier or sword by your side to defeat the Enemy, so I carry this Cross of Christ by my side, which I now hold in my hand, and which is my Rapier, with which I have defeated my Enemy, and doubt not that God will grant you Victory, for you will fight for a Just cause, and for the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Faith.<sup>93</sup>

The same crusading fervour, although nowhere else expressed quite so clearly, was apparent throughout the 1620s.

Verhoeven continued to publish reports from the army in his *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* and *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* until the siege of Maastricht in 1632. These mostly concerned the field army, but in 1625 there was also a series of morale-boosting stories from 's-Hertogenbosch, recounting the garrison's daring raids into enemy-held territory.<sup>94</sup> These covered the exploits of companies commanded by relatives of the governor, Baron Grobbendonk. Verhoeven's news of the main army may have come direct from the field, or through a figure in Antwerp, perhaps in the citadel, who received military reports. In April 1625, Lieutenant Adriaan Boon was one of those drinking with him in 'Het Steurken', which suggests social contacts in the military as well as the business world.<sup>95</sup>

Coverage of the fleet began in 1622. The thirty-third issue of that year, which appeared on 9 March, contained three letters, one each from Ostend, Dunkirk and The Hague, which mentioned the Flemish fleet. This force, operating out of Ostend and Dunkirk, was to terrorise enemy shipping for over thirty

92 Antonio a Fonseca, *De Epidemia febrili grassante in Exercitu Regis Catholici in inferiori Palatinatu Anno 1620 & 21* (Mechelen, Henry Jaye, 1623), a medical study of the epidemic, published when it was no longer current news.

93 'Alsoo ghy daer draecht een Rappier oft zweerdt aen u zyde om den Vyandt te verwinnen, so drage ick dit Cruys Christi aen mijn syde, d'welk ick hier in mijn handt hebbe, ende mijn Rappier is, daer ick mijnen Vyandt mede hebbe verwonnen, ende en twijfelt daer niet aen Godt sal u de Victorie verleenē, want ghy sult vechten voor een Rechtveerdighe saecke, ende het H. Catholijck Apostolijc Roomsche Gheloove', *NT* 1621 no. 107 (29 July), pp. 7–8.

94 E.g. *NT* 1625 no. 62 (1 July); no. 125 (10 Dec.).

95 Van den Branden, p. 61.

years, and even after Dunkirk fell to Cromwell in 1658, ‘Dunkirkers’ continued to operate from Galician and Mediterranean ports. The first impact of the privateering war was described in the letter from The Hague (20 February): ‘The Ships of the Flemish Coast harm us in the Apple of our Eye. If this continues our Nails will be clipped to the flesh.’<sup>96</sup> The letter from Ostend (24 February) used different imagery to the same effect, stating that ‘Profound Brains firmly trust that this is the only means, to make the Watersnails of Holland pull their Horns into their Shells, whence they will be pricked with a pin’;<sup>97</sup> while the letter from Dunkirk (20 February) concentrated more on the profits to those with a share in the privateering business, with the news that ‘some Seamen have become so rich with Booty, that they can henceforth live as hearty and wealthy as Lords. So that the arrival of stout Fellows daily increases’.<sup>98</sup> These initial reports, at a time when only three royal warships were active, were presumably intended to encourage recruitment and investment in privateering, and calm unease at the delays which had prevented the full fleet of twenty ships from being fitted out in time for the spring campaign.<sup>99</sup> Reports on the fleet were usually datelined from Dunkirk, but sometimes from Ostend, Nieuwpoort, Gravelines or Calais, and a few were even written at sea. Like the reports from the army, Verhoeven was to print them until the end of his career.

### Reading the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*

Historians mistakenly taking his 1605 licence for news prints as the beginning of newspaper publication have often repeated the error that Verhoeven invented the newspaper. Credit for this cannot go to him, but he did invent the front-page headline and the newspaper illustration. Where the readers of other newspapers were presented with undifferentiated pages or columns of printed news, those picking up the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* would first see a woodcut illustrating the main news story, a headline summarising the contents or drawing

96 ‘Monsieur, De Schepen vande Vlaemsche Kusten, kretzen ons in den Appel van ons Ooghe, wiltmen hier in soo voorts varen men sal ons de Naghelen tot in het vleesch toe affcorten’. *NT* 1622 no. 33 (9 March).

97 ‘Diepziende Herrssenen betrouwen vastelijck dat het den eenighen middel is, om de Hollandtsche Waterslacken haere Horenkens in het Huyseken te doen duycken, al waermense dan wel met een speleken sal wt trecken’. *Ibid.*

98 ‘Hier sijn voorts sommighe Bootsghezellen van den Buyt soo rijck gheworden, dat sy voortaeen als Heeren in lust en weelden moghen leven. Waer over den aenwas van kloecke Gasten daghelijckx sterck wort’. *Ibid.*

99 See R.A. Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 33–34.

attention to a particular event covered, and the publisher's address. Rather than casting an eye down the columns to see where the news came from, it was listed at the head, stimulating the reader to take the booklet and leaf through to find particular stories of interest. The headline and woodcut also guided the neutral reader with regard to the relative importance of news: a careful reading of the inside pages shows that a range of stories were carried which put Habsburg and Catholic forces in a bad light, but the editorials, headlines and woodcuts placed the emphasis on news that enhanced the reputation of the monarchy (Figure 2).

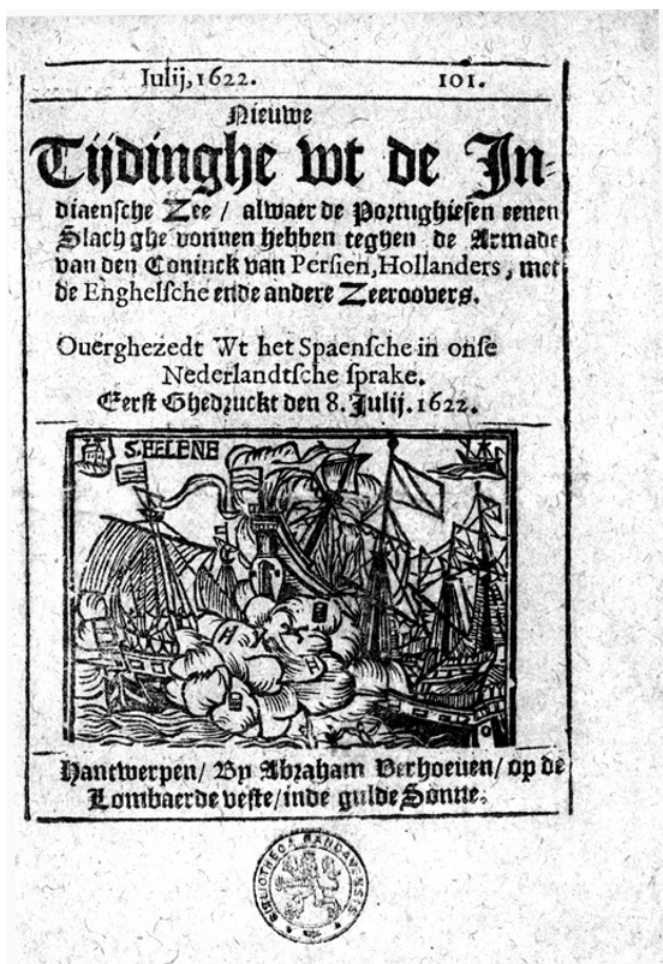


FIGURE 2 Front page of an issue of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 1622. *Nieuwe Tijdinghe 1622 no. 101* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1622).

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The headlines have been statistically analysed, but the woodcuts have never been studied.<sup>100</sup> These were more than the stylized globe on the Parisian *Nouvelles ordinaires*, or the winged Mercury of Munich's *Mercurij*. They generally had some representative or symbolic relevance to the stories to which the reader's attention was drawn by the headline. Some were cut specially, but most were standard blocks put to a variety of uses, and even those initially cut for a particular story were reused in much the same way as the stock images. Verhoeven's inventive reuse of woodcuts was one way of producing an attractive novelty without significantly increasing costs.<sup>101</sup> An image of bearded men sitting in a chamber listening to a speech was used at various times to represent the Synod of Dort, the rebel estates of Bohemia and the loyal estates of Silesia. The image of Spinola was in every detail a clumsy copy of Jan Muller's 1615 engraving from Michiel van Miereveld's portrait, and appeared first in Verhoeven's almanac for 1616 (printed at the end of 1615). Initially it was repeatedly reused to represent Spinola on papers containing news of his victories, but increasingly it seems to have become a generic picture of a Catholic commander. By the time of the issue of 23 April 1625, it could, Golden Fleece and all, represent the recently deceased James I.<sup>102</sup>

Many of the stock images were taken from almanacs and popular romances. Neptune with an entourage of Tritons, used in an almanac to represent the planet Neptune and elsewhere as an illustration of the float of Neptune in Antwerp's annual *Ommegang*, was reused in the *Tijdinghen* to symbolise naval victories. Two royal lovers meeting under a tree, a scene so common in romance as to be utterly non-specific, was used to represent Prince Charles's courtship of the Infanta Maria.<sup>103</sup> The use of images from crusader romances to depict Polish and Austrian battles with Turks and Transylvanians was to be expected; rather more symbolic was their use to represent the battle of Fleurus.<sup>104</sup> More stylised representations were also used, giving little clue to the contents beyond their general nature. Thus news of dynastic importance or giving details of a proclamation might bear the Habsburg shield of arms with the Golden Fleece, supported by the twin pillars of Hercules (a Habsburg emblem since the days of Charles V) or by two lions with crossed staves (referring to the saltire cross of Burgundy), while proclamations of other rulers might bear their

100 Van Damme & Deploige, 'Slecht nieuws', *passim*.

101 I am grateful to Margit Thöfner for bringing this aspect of the reuse of woodcuts to my attention.

102 *NT* 1625 no. 32.

103 *NT* 1623 no. 36 (24 March).

104 *NT* 1622 no. 135 (2 Sept.).

coat of arms. A very few images were used once and once only, and were clearly carved for the occasion. Their very rarity shows the importance attached to the news portrayed. These stories include Albert lying in state, his funeral cortege, and the murder of Buckingham.

Unlike any other newspaper being published in 1620, Verhoeven's was an eight-page booklet. After the front page, the reverse of which was usually blank, came the pages of news, extracted from newsletters and datelined with phrases varying in exactness from 'News from Prague of 15 June 1624' to 'Reports from various parts of Christendom'.<sup>105</sup> The headlines and datelines might be in Gothic or Roman type, or a mixture of the two, sometimes with the addition of Italic capitals; the main text was in Gothic with proper nouns and foreign expressions in Roman.<sup>106</sup> At the end of each issue was the word 'finis' in capitals, followed by the initials of the censor who had passed that issue, for example V.C.D.W.C.A., for 'Vidit Cornelius De Witte canonicus antuerpiensis'.

We can be almost certain that these few men, at least, actually read the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* from time to time: Egbert Spethold (died 1627), Cornelius De Witte (died 1624), Zeger Van Hontsum (died 1643) and Peter Coens (died 1646), four of the twenty-four canons of Antwerp cathedral.<sup>107</sup> Spethold, who had provided Verhoeven's testimonial of orthodoxy in 1605, was the least involved, only providing imprimaturs for the fortnight 23 September to 9 October 1620. Coens was the usual censor until March 1621, being replaced by Van Hontsum on most of the occasions he was unavailable but by Cornelius De Witte throughout the period 26 November 1620 to 20 January 1621. Peter Coens's interest was presumably *ex officio*, as he was the first holder of a prebend instituted specifically to maintain a censor who was a university graduate in Theology and fluent in both French and Flemish.<sup>108</sup> Cornelius De Witte, however, seems to have taken a personal interest in the paper. Having censored it for a few weeks in the winter of 1620–21, he again became involved in March 1621, his initials appearing on all but a handful of issues from April 1621 until early August 1624.<sup>109</sup> Verhoeven clearly kept his imprimatur as a single block of

105 NT 1624 nos 74 (4 July) & 20 (23 Feb.).

106 In quotations here, Verhoeven's Gothic type has been replaced by Roman, his Roman type by Italic.

107 Dates of death from P.J. Goetschalckx, *Geschiedenis der Kanunniken van O.L.V. Kapittel te Antwerpen, 1585–1700* (Antwerp, 1929), pp. 112, 188, 190, 195.

108 A. Pasture, 'Les Chapitres séculiers pendant le règne des Archiducs (1596–1633)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 6 (1928), p. 29. Miraeus was responsible for the establishment of this canonry, to which Coens was appointed in 1615 (Goetschalckx, op. cit., p. 195).

109 De Witte, born in Antwerp of Dutch parents, became a canon in 1608 (Goetschalckx, op. cit., p. 188).

type, and continued using it for two months after De Witte fell victim to the pestilence on 10 June 1624.<sup>110</sup> This fact does throw some doubt on the reliability of the imprimatur as evidence of a particular canon's involvement, or indeed as evidence of effective censorship at all, at least during the disruptions of the plague years. Thereafter Coens and Van Hontsum again divided the work between them, although Coens was by this time the bishop's secretary and more senior than previously.<sup>111</sup>

The imprimatur was placed at the very end of the last news story, and if there was still a blank page or two after that, an ornamental tailpiece or, less frequently, a second and even third illustration might be added. Sometimes, especially in the first year of publication, Verhoeven would print an abbreviated copy of his octrooi, as a reminder to any potential interlopers. The eight-page booklets were thus nearly always full, if not always with news. Most newspapers of the time used one sheet or even half a sheet of paper per weekly issue; the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, for much of its time appearing thrice weekly, and thus using three sheets each week, was the most prodigal of paper then available, at a time when paper was the most expensive part of the printing process, far exceeding type, ink and labour.<sup>112</sup> Both the use of pictures and this format suggest that the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was very consciously a luxury product, or at the least was designed to suggest luxury.

One way of gauging likely readers is to look at the price of the product, but unfortunately the price of each issue is a matter for speculation. One of Verhoeven's 1609 broadsides giving details of the Truce was priced 2 stivers, but such an exceptional publication, with a copperplate engraving, would certainly have been rather higher priced than an edition of the newspaper. This can only be seen as a guide to the price of his engraved prints, and perhaps special editions of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, or occasional French and Latin pamphlets.<sup>113</sup> In 1623 he submitted to the magistrates of Antwerp a request for the payment of 145 guilders 15 stivers, for the newspapers he had delivered in the course of the previous year. He had delivered twenty copies of each issue to the council chamber and four copies of each issue to the city treasury, and we know that there were 179 issues in 1622. In all he was asking for a little over six

110 The last issue bearing the imprimatur 'V.C.D.W.C.A.' is *NT* 1624 no. 83 (9 Aug.).

111 C. de Clercq, 'Kerkelijk leven', in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw* (Antwerp, 1989), p. 34.

112 Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, p. 19.

113 Such as the French account of Albert's funeral, which survives among the papers of the Duke of Neuburg (Ruth Füchtner & Heike Preuss, *Das Inventar der Geheimen Kanzlei der Herzoge van Jülich-Berg aus dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg, 1609–1716* (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 61; 1994), p. 420).

guilders (6.07) per annual subscription, or 0.95 of a stiver per issue.<sup>114</sup> Since these figures are so odd, it does not seem too daring to surmise that an error had crept into his calculations and that the usual cost was either a round stiver per issue or six guilders per year. This is comparable to prices that are available from later in the century. In 1637 Willem Verdussen's *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* was priced 1 st. 10 d. per issue, while the *Ghendtsche Post-tydinghen* published from 1666 was initially priced one stiver per issue.<sup>115</sup> Compare this with the 14 guilders which Lipsius paid for a year's manuscript newsletters for 1602, commenting ironically 'O les grands despens pour ces grands marchands!', the 10 guilders annual subscription for the Arnhem coranto in 1619, or the 3 guilders per year charged by one Amsterdam newspaper in the 1640s.<sup>116</sup>

In the decade 1620–1629 the average weekly wage paid to a typesetter in the Plantin office, arguably the most skilled and best-paid journeymen in the city, came to 132 stivers.<sup>117</sup> On wages like these, to buy every issue of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* would be an extravagance, but to buy just one issue a week, or to take it in turns with a couple of friends, would make the news an affordable luxury. Trade regulations set day rates for skilled workers in the building trade, such as carpenters, roofers and tilers, at 20 stivers, but the seasonal and casual characteristics of the work meant that their annual income was very variable. In good weeks a newspaper would have been a mild self-indulgence, in bad weeks it would have been unthinkable. Unskilled workers could only have borrowed or bought the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* at second hand. While individual skilled journeymen could afford odd issues, that would hardly have been a financial basis for the thrice-weekly publication on which Verhoeven embarked. The survival of such an undertaking depended entirely, in the days before commercial advertising, on subsidy (which in Verhoeven's case amounted to no more than twenty-four subscriptions by the city authorities) and on subscribers and regular purchasers, who would, at such prices, of necessity have been

114 Calculated on the basis of 28 stivers to a minted guilder. If Verhoeven was working with the guilder of account (20 stivers), the prices work out at slightly less (0.68 stivers) per issue—perhaps a *blank* (three-quarters of a stiver) rather than a round stiver. A guilder was worth two English shillings (*NT* 1623 no. 16), so a single issue of *NT* would have cost about one English penny.

115 Van Laerhoven, p. 218; Ghent city council to the Privy Council, 4 June 1672, in ARB, GRSP, 1279/185.

116 Aloïs Gerlo, Hendrik D.L. Vervliet & Irene Vertessen (eds), *La Correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus* (Antwerp, 1967), pp. 179–180: Lipsius to Johannes Moretus, Leuven, 29 Dec. 1602, asking him to renew the subscription on his behalf; Schneider & Hemels, *De Nederlandse krant* (Baarn, 1979), pp. 52, 46.

117 Etienne Scholiers, 'Peilingen naar de conjunctuur en de koopkracht', in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, p. 157.

merchants, shopkeepers, master craftsmen, professionals, clergymen and army officers. As the regular editions were in Dutch, it seems unlikely that many great lords and prelates would have been among the intended readership of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, and these in any case had plenty of better-placed sources of information. In short, as one might in any case have expected, the regular readers were in all likelihood largely of the middling sort, although the possibility of quite extensive diffusion beyond this group, especially on an occasional basis, cannot be ruled out.

Richard Verstegan, in a satirical pseudo-newsbook entitled ‘Gazette of News Reports’, attributed the ubiquitous cry of ‘what news?’ to ‘the hope that gives each expectation to hear something which may be to his benefit’.<sup>118</sup> This view of a profit motive for the constant demand for news he contrasted with the even greater profit to be had from ancient wisdom. The desire for news, according to many commentators, was not to do with profit at all, but with an itch for novelty. Verstegan had to flee England after printing an account of the execution of the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, one of whose co-accused was charged with not having reported treasonable speeches heard abroad. At their trial, Campion had responded by asking the court:

who findeth it not by daily experience, how that in every city, every village, yea, and in most barber’s shops in all England, many speeches both of estates and commonwealths be tossed which were never meant nor determined of in the court: If it be so in England, shall we not look for the like in Italy, Flanders, France and Spain? Yes truly; for though the countries do differ, yet the nature of the men remaineth the same, namely, always desirous and greedy of news.<sup>119</sup>

Campion’s fellow Jesuit Robert Persons was more directly condemnatory in his criticism of those who ‘eate, drinke, and be merie [...] tell newes of the Court and affaires abroad; sing, daunce, laugh and play at cardes; and so passe over this life in lesse consideration of God or godlinesse, then doe the very Heathens’.<sup>120</sup>

118 ‘Dichten des Auteurs, op dit Boecxken’, *Gazette van Nieuwe-Maren van de geheele wereldt. Ghemenght met oude waerheden* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1618), p. 8: ‘Maer door wat oorsaeck soeckt men dan te weten, // Altoos het nieuws, dat nieuws niet lang en blyft? // Want d’een nieuw-maer den anderen stracx verdryft, // En d’een te weten, d’ander doet vergheten. // Het schynt de hope die gheeft een ieghelyck moet, // Te hooren iet, daer hy mocht baet by vinden’.

119 William Cobbett, *Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. 1 (London, 1809), col. 1065.

120 Persons, *Book of Christian Exercise* (1582), p. 665, quoted in A. Walsham, *Church Papists* (Royal Historical Society, 1993), p. 42

It was a commonplace that the desire for news was part of human nature. For a learned man like Justus Lipsius, news was 'reading to pass the time', a break from the wisdom of the ancients, while for the Dutch magistrate and literary luminary P. C. Hooft newspapers were a relief from 'The straightness of daily affairs'.<sup>121</sup> Lipsius's study of the ancients was not, however, divorced from current affairs.<sup>122</sup> His edition of Tacitus was held to have made political concepts too widely known among commoners, so that 'even Shop-keepers [...] shew not themselves more cunning in any profession than of State policy'.<sup>123</sup>

It was always in terms of curiosity and conversation, rather than profit or necessity, that Verhoeven characterised the desire for news when addressing his readers. In 1628, when an elephant was being exhibited in Antwerp, and because 'divers and various discourses arise touching the nature and properties of such a strange beast', he provided a description, based on classical scientific authorities such as Aristotle and Pliny, 'to give each matter and material to discourse of the Elephant according to the truth'.<sup>124</sup> This was an exceptional occasion, but it does not seem unlikely that the newspaper industry as a whole was in part intended to capitalise on a general desire for news that could serve as the basis for sociable discussion. The introduction to the discourse on the elephant also concluded 'hoping that this my labour will be agreeable and pleasant to the people' ('den volcke'), suggesting that his audience was not entirely elevated above the vulgar mass. The comment at the end of one of his broadsheets on the Truce of 1609, 'You are well served for your two stivers. Complain not', although a feeble literary conceit (for only two stivers, the reader had been

121 'ung passetemps de lecture', Lipsius to Moretus, Leuven 29 Dec. 1601 (see note 116 above). 'De strakheit der daegelijksche beezigheden', P.C. Hooft to Joost Baek, Muiden, 1 July 1635, in *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*, edited by H.W. van Tricht et al., vol. 2 (Culemborg, 1977), p. 662.

122 Lipsius saw the writings of Tacitus as a 'theatrum hodiernae vitae' (quoted in A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, p. 256).

123 Trajano Boccalini, *The New-found Politicke*, translated by Thomas Scott, John Florio & William Vaughan (London, 1626), p. 20, quoted in Joad Raymond, 'The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, 1994 Annual, p. 12.

124 'By occasie dat teghenwoordelijck binnen de stadt van Antwerpen voor gelt te sien is seker wtlandsche beeste, Olifant genaemt zijnde, ende door dien onder de lieden diversche ende verscheyden discoursen zijn rijsende rakende de natuere ende proprieteyten van alsulcken vremde beeste: hebbe ick goet ghevonden wt den Naturalisten, te weten wt Aristoteles, Aelianus, Galenus, Plinius ende andere, by een te vergaderen't ghene dese materie is aenghaende, om elck een materie ende stoff te gheven van den Olifant nae de waerheyt te descourieren, hopende desen mijnen arbeyt sal den volcke agreeabel ende aenghenaem wesen'. 'Tot den Leser', *NT* 1628 no. 69 (30 June), *Verhael van de natuere, ende eyghenschappen des Olifants*, p. 2.

given all the joys of peace), also suggests that his readers might sometimes be found among those for whom two stivers was quite an outlay.<sup>125</sup>

Elsewhere he described his readership in elitist terms, but there was undoubtedly an element of flattery in this, and the terms were as much intellectual as social: his reports were intended ‘for the contentment of such as do not desire to be ignorant of the occasion of the public affairs of the world [...] the curious lovers of greater knowledge than the blunt ignorant mass’.<sup>126</sup> The ‘curious’ in this sense were not the merely inquisitive, but were diligent searchers after knowledge—a quest that was held to differentiate rational beings from mere animals.<sup>127</sup> In classic Aristotelian and Ciceronian formulations, man was a political and social animal, and as such engaged in civil conversation, the basis of social life. The desire to acquire and to pass on news was therefore fundamental to human nature—or so, at least, news publishers presented it. Johann Carolus, printer of the Strasbourg *Aviso*, wrote in a New Year editorial for 1624: ‘It is, dear reader, the born nature of people to enjoy reading and hearing histories and strange events’.<sup>128</sup> It was by no means with reference to *idle* curiosity that Verhoeven made such promises as this: ‘By God’s help we shall not fail to continue each week, and to communicate to the Reader for the Curiosity of understanding News reports, both from strange Lands as from here. Farewell.’<sup>129</sup>

### Frequency of Publication

What particularly marks newspapers as different from other forms of news publication in this culture of news sharing was their open-ended, on-going publication. The periodicity of publication followed the weekly pattern of

125 ‘Ghy zijt wel bestelt voor u twee stuyvers. Claeght niet’. *Een cort verhael ende Afbeeldinge vande heerlicke Triumphe ende vieringe die tot Antwerpen geschiet is over het af-lesen vanden Treve*, [Verhoeven], 1609.

126 ‘tot contentement van die ghene die niet en begheeren ignorant te wesen van die gheleghenthey van die publijcke affairen van die werelt [...] die curieuse liefhebbers van meerder wetenschap dan die botte ignoranten hoop’, *NT* 1629 no. 19 (March), p. 2.

127 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a2ae. 94:2. See also Lorraine Daston, ‘Curiosity in Early Modern Science’, *Word & Image*, 11:4 (1995), pp. 391–404.

128 ‘Es ist günstiger Leser uns Menschen von nature angebohren, daß wir gern Historien und frembte Geschichten lesen und anhören’ (*RFG* 1624 no. 1).

129 ‘Metter hulpen Godts men sal niet laten allen weken te continueren, ende den Leser te laten weten tot Curieushey van verstandighe de Nieuwaren, soo wel van vremde Landen als herrewaerts over. Vaert wel’. *NT* 1622 no. 157 (22 Oct.), editorial afterword.

markets and postal deliveries, printing the news as it arrived rather than in an annual or monthly pattern, or in response to local celebrations. As early as April 1617, Verhoeven was promising his readers that he would be bringing out bulletins 'every 8 or 9 days', but as few issues were dated and none was numbered, it is impossible to see how far he managed to achieve this aim.<sup>130</sup> Survivals from late 1619, at any rate, suggest he was managing to print a news pamphlet at least once every seven to ten days. In the first months of 1620 publication became irregular, despite the decision to market the newsbooks as a single series, and stopped completely during Holy Week and Easter Week, although this was perhaps not unusual in a country where most public business was suspended at that time.<sup>131</sup> Continuous regular publication was resumed from 28 April 1620, and continued, with the interruptions set out below, until Friday 30 March 1629.

About half the surviving issues from this period are dated to a Friday, but some issues were printed over two days, and this may have been regular practice.<sup>132</sup> Half the issues not published on a Friday were published on a Wednesday. Since Antwerp's market days were Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, this seems sound enough marketing.<sup>133</sup> Fridays which were holidays were not normally worked, and besides the thirty-five official feastdays of the archdiocese, Verhoeven appears to have observed a number of lesser festivals dedicated to popular saints even though these were not public holidays. These 'unofficial' holidays included the Octave of Holy Innocents, the Octave of St John the Evangelist, and the feastdays of St John the Almsgiver, St Benedict, St Helen, St Anthony of Padua, St Basil, St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis Xavier (the latter two again hinting tantalisingly at Jesuit connections). As well as these holidays, official and unofficial, Verhoeven never worked on Sundays, Good Friday, or Ascension and Corpus Christi. In total, his press had about a hundred days off each year—varying according to the overlap of feastdays and Sundays—and a good number of 'St Mondays' into the bargain. Conversely, he did not always follow this pattern strictly, at least in some years working as normal on the feasts of St Matthew and All Souls (but never All Saints).<sup>134</sup>

130 'Men sal voordaen alle 8 oft 9 daghen den leser precies laten weten t'principaelste wat datter gepasseert is in vremde landen', *Verhael van t'principaelste datter nu onlanckx gheschiedt is*, p. 4.

131 William Trumbull to James I, 31 March 1614, in HMC, *Downshire*, vol. 4, p. 355.

132 A substantial minority of the issues which survive in more than one copy bear different dates on different copies—some Friday and Saturday, others Thursday and Friday.

133 Roland Baetens, 'De lokale markten te Antwerpen', in *Antwerpen in de XVIIde eeuw*, pp. 169–200.

134 Issues from 1620, 1621, and 1626 were published on the feast of St Matthew; 1621 nos 158 & 159, and 1623 no. 126 on All Souls. One other issue appeared on a public holiday: 1625



Issues were published on approximately 342 of the 414 Fridays that were not feastdays between 1 May 1620 and 30 March 1629.<sup>135</sup> Of the remaining 72 Fridays, 39 had issues published either the previous or the following day. So there were only 33 weeks out of the 414 during which Verhoeven was in business that a hypothetical customer could not safely assume that he would be able to buy recently printed news at Antwerp's Friday or Saturday markets. Seventeen of these issueless weekends fell in the plague years 1624–1625. On 22 April 1624 the first case of a new outbreak of pestilence was diagnosed, and for the next four years the infection was endemic in the city, reaching its height in the summer of 1625.<sup>136</sup> Verhoeven's parents-in-law both succumbed, Catherina Baert late in 1624, Anthoon Spierincx early in 1625. In February 1625, Verhoeven and his family moved out of their cramped quarters in the 'Golden Sun' and into the Spierincx house, the 'Golden Hand', on the opposite side of the road, taking formal possession of the property on 25 March.<sup>137</sup> The combination of communications disrupted by plague and a business relocation, albeit only from one side of the Lombardenvest to the other, understandably disrupted the rhythm of publication. Four of the missing weekends were in the early months of 1629, when the *Nieuwe Tijdingen* was on its last legs. In 1628, the feast of Corpus Christi fell on Thursday 22 June and the Nativity of St John the Baptist on Saturday 24th—it is unlikely that Verhoeven would have been able to find pressmen to work the one day between the two holidays, had he been so inclined. All of which brings the unexplained failure in periodicity down to eleven weekends spread over eight years.

The variety of dates given on the issues could produce a misleading picture of unperiodic publication: issues were probably printed on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, for the Friday and Saturday markets, and sometimes also on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, for the Wednesday market. The irregular Wednesday editions (numbered as part of the series) were printed to keep abreast of the news. If Verhoeven had enough copy for a full issue by midweek, it made no sense to let it grow stale, when an outlay on labour and paper would bring a return on his investment in correspondence.

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no. 34, on the feast of St Mark (25 April). This was not really a news edition, but a meditation relating the news to the text 'gens contra gentem, et regnum super regnum' (Mark 13:8).

135 A very few issues were undated, but are assumed to have followed the usual pattern of publication.

136 A.-F.-C. Van Schevensteen, *Documents pour servir à l'étude des maladies pestilentielles dans le Marquisat d'Anvers jusqu'à la chute de l'ancien régime*, vol. 1 (Commission Royale d'Histoire, series in 8°, 42; Brussels, 1931), p. 349 ff.

137 Van den Branden, pp. 59–60.

Given that for most of the time two to four issues were being printed over a period of three to four days, and taking the usual print run to have been about one thousand copies (an inference from printing practice elsewhere, so perhaps not much more than a wild stab in the dark), one issue would have to be written and type-set while another was being printed.<sup>138</sup> It is clear that for much of this period production could not have been increased without buying a second press or changing the format of publication to a handbill. Since the latter change would double production at no cost, it is hardly surprising that Verhoeven met the crises in his business by reducing formats, first to a half-folio booklet (in 1629), and later to a handbill.

### Editorial Policy

Besides the innovatory newsbook format, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was also distinctive among contemporary newspapers because of the extent and explicitness of the editorial comment, and the ready inclusion of satires and polemics within the pages of the newspaper. Anna Simoni has discussed the satires on Frederick of the Palatinate published in late 1620 and early 1621 and pirated across Germany.<sup>139</sup> Such satires were a constant element in Verhoeven's production, from the Synod of Dort to the end of his career. Another genre found in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* but not in other newspapers is the historical overview, such as the six-page history of Jülich prefixed to Verhoeven's publication of the articles of surrender agreed in 1622.<sup>140</sup> Historical features on the persecution of Catholics in England were appended to the first full account of the negotiations for the Spanish Match, and prefixed to the details of Charles I's anti-Catholic proclamation of February 1627.<sup>141</sup> Not all histories were so political: floods in the Low Countries in 1624 elicited an overview of all the great floods of England and the Netherlands since 1507, with passing mention of major European inundations as far back as the flood of Constantinople in 1211.<sup>142</sup> While such overviews are not to be found in other newspapers, they would be instantly familiar to readers of almanacs.

138 Assumptions about speed/volume of printing are following Philip Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 139–140.

139 Anna E.C. Simoni, 'Poems, Pictures and the Press: Observations on Some Abraham Verhoeven Newsletters (1620–1621)', in *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. Francine de Nave (Antwerp, 1985), pp. 353–373.

140 NT 1622 no. 24 (18 Feb.), *Nieuwe Tijdinghe met de Articulen, van het Accoort van Gulick...*

141 NT 1623 no. 16 (15 Feb.), pp. 5–8; NT 1627 no. 32 (31 March), pp. 3–5.

142 NT 1624 no. 12 (7 Feb.).

Apart from these commentaries and features, ranging from fictional letters or dialogues through songs, verses, chronograms and anagrams to historical overviews, there were the editorials proper, often fine examples of sharp rail-lery or dry sarcasm. Such was the discussion of inaccurate reports printed in Amsterdam that the siege of Rochelle had been broken off and that the garrison of Bergen op Zoom had been raiding before the very walls of Antwerp.<sup>143</sup> Others were pious exhortations to prayer, like that thanking God for the safe arrival of the silver fleet in 1626, contrary to all human expectation.<sup>144</sup> Sometimes the two were combined, as in the editorial appended to an account of the defeat of the French and Savoyard armies in the Republic of Genoa.<sup>145</sup>

Dear Reader, here we must note, how much we are obliged to praise and thank God Almighty, for his great favours and beneficence now shown to us in short time and in divers manners.

First we have here in the Netherlands recovered the Town of Breda, where the enemy had the greatest forces, and Foreign Assistance, that they have ever had, or shall have, one may presume.

Secondly, in Italy where the French have leagued with the Savoyard, and sailed a little before the wind, There the wind changed suddenly, and went against them, so that the proverb, who laughs last also laughs, was found true.

In Brazil, Bahia was also recovered from the Enemies and Rebels of Holland, whereby they were punished with loss and shame by God who is the lover of justice.

It is not enough for these evil people that they unjustly retain his Hereditary Lands here in the Netherlands from their legitimate Sovereign Lord, but they would prevent and damage him in the East and West Indies, and have wandered so far from justice and natural reason, that they have dared order Days of Prayer to call on God to profit their evil and unjust Intention, for which they have found Wednesday the most fitting day in the week, perhaps because they think that on that day our Dear Lord has the most leisure to give Audience to the Gueux.

But others are of opinion that they have chosen and ordained Wednesday for their Day of Prayer, in honour of the Heathen God Mercury, in whose honour the Heathens kept Wednesday, and it gives some appearance that the Gueux of Holland tend more to this for this

143 'Nota twee vette Hollandtsche leughens', in *NT* 1628 no. 123 (10 Nov.), pp. 4–6.

144 *NT* 1626 no. 138 (23 Dec.).

145 *nt* 1625 no. 75 (2 Aug.), pp. 13–15.

Heathen God Mercury was full of falseness and deceit, and they being the same, can do with such a Patron. But God Almighty, the protector of Justice, has shown that he gives little heed to their Wednesday Prayer Days.

Concerning the great Armada of England which is ordered to sail under the Standard of the Palsgrave, Pestilence is striking a blow there, and a short time will give us to understand how it will go with it.

Such editorialising was not frequent in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, but was almost unknown in any comparable newspaper series from the 1620s. Only Thomas Gainsford's English newsbooks followed Verhoeven's style of direct editorial address. Editorial bias was demonstrated largely not in direct editorialising, but in the presentation of the news itself. The clearest way in which this was done was by commenting on its reliability. There was a pronounced rhetoric of truth-telling in seventeenth-century newspapers, but it was deployed in many different ways, from the headline 'New True Report of [...]', to the finishing comment 'whether it is true, time will tell'.<sup>146</sup> There was a range of tags: 'it is rumoured', 'it is said', 'some say', 'the general report goes', 'those of discrimination say', 'a reliable man reports', 'the brethren would have us believe'. Whether the report itself was true or not, it could truthfully be said that this was what was being reported. Verhoeven's stories always have to be read with this disclaimer in mind, and discerning readers were well aware of this. In 1627 the satirical poet Petrus Scholirius (who served terms as an alderman of Antwerp in 1622, 1624 and 1629) wrote:

...dubiae nec murmura famae  
 Scisco Verhoevaeum dictamen, donec & usque  
 Historias narret vicinia concita veras...

This was glossed by a later commentator as a reference to Verhoeven's use (or overuse) of the tags 'it is said' and 'whether it is true, time will tell' to defer any direct truth claim for the news reported.<sup>147</sup> Even references to the eminence of a source, often seen as a way of giving news greater authority, could also function as exculpation: if the report turned out not to be true, the publisher was

<sup>146</sup> See Suzanne Tucoo-Chala, 'Presse et vérité sous l'Ancien Régime', *Revue du Nord*, vol. 261–262 (special issue, *Liber Amicorum. Mélanges offerts à Louis Trenard*, 1984), pp. 713–721.

<sup>147</sup> Petrus Scholirius, *Sermonum Familiarium libri III*, with a commentary by Albert le Roy (Hermopolis [vere Antwerp], 1683), lib. II, serm. VIII (first published 1627), p. 254, esp. footnote 13.

relieved of guilt because anybody else would have accepted news from such a source just as readily.

Any newspaper, or newswriter, could always claim merely to be repeating what was being said. The validity of this defence was expressly denied in an undated draft decree of the mid-1620s prohibiting the unlicensed publishing of ‘discours, gazettes, remonstrances, motifs ou avertissements de droit’.<sup>148</sup> Even more significant, though less directly evident, was the selection of news stories, in particular under-reporting or ignoring defeats and disasters in the hope that later reports might contradict or qualify bad news. From the point of view of damage-limitation for the monarchy’s reputation it would have made more sense to put out an official version to quash the wilder rumours about a defeat, as Albert had so quickly done after the Battle of Nieuwpoort, but Verhoeven, whose relations to the establishment are far from clear, was obviously more inclined to leave dangerous topics well alone. When bad news was mentioned, it was more glanced at obliquely than reported in plain terms, but it was still clear enough for canny readers.

At the time of composing the paper, the range of news from which Verhoeven could choose was decided by his longer-term decisions about subscription to news services, by the newswriters’ choices about what news to include and what significance to give it, and by the day-to-day reliability of the posts. Thus it often happened that reports posted a week apart in more distant cities such as Prague or Venice, appeared in the same issue of the *Tijdinghen*, and occasionally the same happened with news from closer by, such as Cologne or Paris.<sup>149</sup> Presumably it must also have happened that by the time some reports arrived, they had already been amply confirmed or contradicted by more recently despatched reports, making their publication redundant. The plea of late posts was common in newspapers of the early seventeenth century, the very first sentence of the first surviving English newsbook running ‘The post from Italy is not yet come’. Complaints of late posts were not confined to newspapers, but were legion in newsletters and the correspondence of merchants and diplomats. News of highwaymen and ill-disciplined soldiery interfering with the posts, and maltreating royal or civic messengers, appears in newspapers throughout the period. One such report, printed by Abraham Verhoeven in Antwerp and by Broer Janszoon in Amsterdam, detailed how three bandits had been executed at Faligno with burning tongs for murdering the Venetian ordinary.<sup>150</sup>

148 ARB, GRSP 1277/240.

149 For instance, among many examples, *NT* 1621 no. 53 (printed 5 April) contained reports from Prague dated 9 and 16 March.

150 Rome, 17 December 1622, *NT* 1623 no. 10 (27 Jan.) and *TVQ*, 24 Jan. 1623.

There are, however, certain cases where editorial decisions do seem to have played a role. The clearest example in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* is the news from Brussels, from the army of Flanders and from the fleet. Verhoeven's international news network will be considered in the following chapter, but his reports on home affairs—the court of the archduchess and the war in the Netherlands—will be treated here, since it was subject to constraints not apparent in his general coverage of the news of Europe. It is particularly worth emphasizing, given the main thrust of recent work on the subject, that the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was not a court gazette and did not go out of its way to give positive coverage of the archduchess and her court.<sup>151</sup> On the contrary, reports in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* provide a clearer picture of festivities and negotiations at the papal, imperial, Spanish, French and English courts than at the court of Brussels. What few reports there were from Brussels tended to stress the well-organised financing of the Army of Flanders, the extensive involvement of the native nobility in the war effort, the court as a locus for the rewarding of loyal service, and the piety, hospitality and international connections of the Infanta.<sup>152</sup> The far more frequent reports Verhoeven received from sources in the army were of the same tendency, as was news from the fleet. Anybody looking for examples of 'propaganda' in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* need not look far. The very phrasing of the licence to print 'Victories, Sieges, the taking of towns and Castles [...] as well as all News Reports' suggests the tone which Verhoeven intended to adopt. But it would be misleading to focus entirely on these aspects. Although news of military or dynastic achievements was the focus of headlines and editorials and of the limited range of stories from Brussels, run-of-the-mill reporting was far more down-to-earth.

A report from Antwerp printed in 1625 retailed not only the magnificence of the meeting between Don Carlos Coloma and the Duke of Sachsen-Lauenburg, but also that the royal soldiers around the city 'keep house evilly with the Peasants'.<sup>153</sup> Hopes of a renewal of the Truce in 1623, as part of a general settlement to be brokered by James I and the Infanta at a conference in Brussels which in the end never took place, led to the publication of a verse dialogue between a peasant and a soldier in which the peasant's complaints were interspersed by the soldier's threatening demands for an ever-growing catalogue of his possessions.<sup>154</sup> The peasant himself was a universal figure, saying at one

151 Van Damme & Deploige, 'Slecht nieuws'; Arblaster, 'Press Image of the Infanta Isabella', in Thomas & Duerloo, *Albert & Isabella*, pp. 335–341.

152 Arblaster, *loc. cit.*

153 'houden met de Boeren drollich huys'. *NT* 1625 no. 20.

154 *NT* 1623 no. 91 (n.d.). On the Brussels conference, see Geoffrey Parker & Simon Adams, 'Europe and the Palatine War', in Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years' War* (London & New York, 1987), p. 65.

point 'It is now bad to live in Brabant, in Westphalia it is piteous for us poor peasants, in Cleves, Cologne and Drente, Overijssel and the Twente, we Peasants who fail to escape at once will pay for it with goods and beatings': an even-handed list of areas under contribution to troops commanded by Nassau, Mansfeld, Spinola and Cordoba.<sup>155</sup> The soldier is a similarly generic character, a 'Servant of the God Mars' rather than of any particular government. The dialogue ends with the Peasant's optimistic: 'We hope soon to have Truce, therefore pray God all together for public Peace.'<sup>156</sup> In the same year, Verhoeven reported the capture of three Spanish soldiers from the mutinied Heusden garrison who had been setting fire to farmsteads as part of the mutineers' drive to terrorise contributions out of the peasants of Jülich.<sup>157</sup> However the great commanders may have been adulated, few illusions were harboured about their subordinates.

The caution Verhoeven displayed in his coverage of the Brussels court was also far less in evidence in news concerning other Habsburg princes and their allies. In January 1624 a report from Prague appeared which blamed the great dearth in Bohemia on a combination of incompetent monetary policy and ill-disciplined Habsburg soldiery, while a report from Vienna published in April 1623, while less vocally critical, was equally clear in seeing grants of monopolies as a further disincentive to farmers to bring their produce to market.<sup>158</sup> It is hard to tell at this distance of time whether the same correspondent's earlier statement that 'every week the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council publish Mandates, which is expected to help soon' is naive or ironic.<sup>159</sup>

Coverage of the military affairs of the enemies of the Habsburgs was also detailed. Such news might appear more slowly, and be reported in less glowing terms, but it was not entirely neglected. To take but one example, the vicissitudes of Colonel Morgan and his English regiment in Danish service were followed week by week in 1627, in reports from England, Wesel, Cologne, Bremen, Holland, Dunkirk, Hamburg and Rethen, from their disembarkation in Holland to the taking of Staden.<sup>160</sup> In 1630, while still reporting enthusiastically on

155 'T'is nu in Brabant quaet te zijn woonachtich, // In Westphalen voor ons arme Boeren klachtich, // Int Landt te Cleef, Ceulen ende Drente, // Sticht van Over-ysel ende in die Twente, // Wy Boeren die't met den eersten niet en ontkoopen, // Sullent' met goedt en slagen moeten becoopen'. (p. 6).

156 'Wy hopen te hebben Trefves voor handen, // Daerom bidt Godt nu allegaer, // Om Peys en Vrede int openbaer'. (p. 8)

157 News from Cologne, *NT* 1623 no. 25 (5 March).

158 *NT* 1624 no. 10 (26 Jan.); 1623 no. 38 (1 April).

159 *NT* 1623 no. 32 (17 March).

160 *NT* 1627 nos. 12 (10 Feb.) to 129 (27 Oct.).

Spinola's doings, Verhoeven also printed news of a defeat of his Savoyard allies and reports of considerable Albanian and French reinforcements for the Franco-Venetian alliance.<sup>161</sup> The same even-handedness of coverage is to be found in earlier years. News from Cologne printed in February 1623 reported that Baron Anholt was to occupy the villages around Lippstadt with many horse and canon, to prevent the egress of freebooters; a report from Westphalia published a month later stated that the Dutch garrison had raided the villages, surprising the cavalymen and killing half of them.<sup>162</sup> Neither report was given prominence with a headline or a woodcut, but both were there for the attentive reader. Similarly with economic news, the fabulous cargoes of Dutch East-Indiamen were reported, but not given the emphasis that went to Spanish silver or Portuguese spices.<sup>163</sup> To see the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* purely as an organ of propaganda, rather than information, is to miss the constant tension between the two impulses.

### The End of Verhoeven's Career

It is possible that certain circles saw Verhoeven's paper as not enough of a propaganda organ, or at least as one in the wrong hands. In the years 1629–1630 there was what appears to have been an orchestrated attempt to put him out of business and bring the publication of news under more direct government control. In spite of his Privy Council and Council of Brabant licenses from 1620, Verhoeven on 7 February 1629 received an order from the Council of Brabant, dated 29 January, commanding him to cease his daily ('dagelycx') printing of 'various gazettes or news reports most incorrect and without any prior proper visitation'.<sup>164</sup> Issue 12 of 1629 was printed on 7 February, the day he received the Council's order, and Verhoeven waited until Friday 2 March before printing issues 13 and 14. A week later he printed issue 15, another week later issues 16 and 17, and five days after that, on Wednesday 23 March, issue 18. Issue 19 (dated 'March') was a sixteen-page overview of the state of Europe, with an editorial assuring his readers of his determination to 'give forth in print

<sup>161</sup> *WT* 1630 no. 68 (31 July).

<sup>162</sup> *NT* 1623 nos. 21 (25 Feb.) and 33 (17 March).

<sup>163</sup> e.g. news from Amsterdam in *NT* 1622 no. 108 (23 July).

<sup>164</sup> 'verscheyden gasetten oft nyewe tydingen seer Incorrect ende sonder eenige voorgaende behoorende visitatie'. Order in Council signed Vande Perre, 29 Jan. 1629, and endorsed Cornelis de Claer, messenger of the council, 7 Feb. 1629, in ARB, Officie Fiscal van de Raad van Brabant, liasse 177, dossier 1566.



Relations of that which may come to my knowledge', but the last issue of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, number 20, appeared on 27 April with only one story: news from Madrid of the arrival of the silver fleet.

About this time, the Privy Council issued Widow Anthoon (née Velpius) with a licence for news publishing. It seems likely that this step was taken to strengthen the position of the widow, whose frequent occasional newsbooks never quite became a serial. Verhoeven, however, relaunched his newspaper on 27 June, exactly two months after the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* stopped publication, as the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* (weekly news), which he published for the next two years.

His weakened position in 1629 was perhaps part of a radical realignment in the politics of the Habsburg Netherlands, which culminated in the Conspiracy of Nobles of 1632. With the reversion of the Habsburg Netherlands to the Spanish Monarchy at Albert's death, and the growing control of Olivares over the affairs of the monarchy, there was a gradual but far-reaching shift in the patronage networks of the Brussels court and the royal councils. Miraeus was promoted to the deanery of Antwerp cathedral in 1624, effectively removing him from Brussels, and in 1625 Scribani was also removed from Brussels to Antwerp by his provincial. Despite Spinola's repeated pleas, the provincial was adamant that Scribani's spiritual wellbeing was threatened by excessive contact with courtiers, and that Isabella's opposition in any case precluded his return to Brussels.<sup>165</sup> Albert had written of Manuel Sueyro in glowing terms to Philip III, and Isabella wrote in his praise in January 1623; thereafter she was consistently negative in her judgements of him, and stalled for two years when Philip IV asked her to ensure his pension was paid regularly.<sup>166</sup> Spinola himself was removed from the Netherlands in 1628, and his reputation suffered immediately: as soon as he was out of the country, Christophle de Bonours, councillor of war, brought out a revisionist account of the siege of Ostend which emphasized the achievements of Albert, de Ribas and Bucquoy, reducing the role of Spinola (first mentioned on page 432, in the tenth of twelve books) to that of a business manager brought in to finance the completion of operations.<sup>167</sup> In 1629 Scribani, Sueyro and Herman Hugo died. Spinola himself died in Italy in 1630.

New figures were increasingly powerful in the highest levels of government and at the lower levels of influence-brokering. It is unclear how much this was

165 Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani*, pp. 414–415.

166 Albert to Philip IV, 17 May 1621, in *CCE* vol. 2, p. 11 n. 5; Isabella in recommendation, *ibid.*, p. 114; Philip IV to Isabella and replies, 31 March 1623 to 8 February 1625, *ibid.*, pp. 122–200.

167 *Le Memorable siege d'Ostende, decrit et divisé en douze livres* (Brussels, Jan van Meerbeeck, 1628).

due to the delayed repercussions in the Netherlands of the power-shift at the Spanish court, how much to the archduchess's own renewed interest in reform after her progress of 1625, and how much to the natural attrition of the older generation.<sup>168</sup> Archbishop Boonen, a fierce enemy of the Society of Jesus, was appointed to the Council of State in 1625. Peter Peckius died in 1625, to be replaced as Chancellor by Ferdinand de Boisschot. The same year saw the death of Matheo de Urquina and the reunification of the secretariats of State and War under Pedro de San Juan.<sup>169</sup> Pierre Roose came to the personal attention of the Archdukes in 1619, when as advocate fiscal of Brabant he had sat on the commission to examine the complaints of the Brussels guilds;<sup>170</sup> after a mission to Madrid in 1628 he became the willing tool of Olivares.<sup>171</sup> The Chifflet family from Besançon first came to the attention of the Infanta in 1623 and had by the time of her death engrossed many of the unofficial functions apparently once exercised by Miraeus.<sup>172</sup> Philippe Chifflet became a court chaplain in 1624; his brother Jean-Jacques, who was to write a Latin pamphlet in praise of Olivares's pet project, the Union of Arms, became physician to the chamber in 1625.<sup>173</sup>

The court and councils of Brussels in any case became less important, as Olivares in 1628 drew authority into his own hands by reinstituting the Supreme Council of Flanders in Madrid, in 1629 despatching the Marquis of Aytona to Brussels to oversee the implementation of his decisions.<sup>174</sup> The extent of the changes makes it hard to judge which of the many potential patrons had strong links with Verhoeven, since so many of them died or lost their influence in the later 1620s, but the broad conclusion that he enjoyed protection from some combination of the circles around Spinola and Peckius seems inescapable.

Verhoeven's situation became even more difficult in 1630. On 27 May Hieronymus Verdussen was granted a monopoly on the publication of 'Almanacken, prognostication ende Cronijckens', ostensibly to prevent the continued publication of poorly legible calendars on bad paper without proper

168 L. Lemaire, 'L'infante Isabelle, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, à Dunkerque (13 août—6 novembre 1625). Le Diaire de Philippe Chifflet, chapelain d'honneur de S.A.S.', *Union Faulconnier. Société historique et archéologique de Dunkerque et de la Flandre maritime. Bulletin*, 23 (1926), pp. 111–208.

169 Parker, *Army of Flanders*, p. 286.

170 Henne & Wauters, vol. 2, p. 30.

171 Elliott, *Olivares*, p. 405.

172 I am grateful to Marc Jacobs for drawing my attention to the rise of the Chifflets.

173 *Unitas fortis ab marchione de Leganés Provinciis Belgicis fidelibus Philippi iv, nomine proposita politicis sapientum dictis illustr. J.J. Chifflet* (Antwerp, 1628).

174 Elliott, *Olivares*, pp. 389–391.

indication of feast days in red ink, and prognostications ‘full of unregulated concepts, tending to disedification of the commonalty’.<sup>175</sup> This was not in response to a supplication from Verdussen similar to that of 1619, but was an initiative originating in the highest legal circles of Brabant. In 1625 Procurator General Pontanus had complained that the policing of the almanac trade was near impossible given the numbers of different printers involved and the lack of licensing and prepublication censorship. This led to a proclamation in 1626 ordering that in future almanacs were to be submitted to government inspection, but in 1628 Pontanus complained again, listing this as one of the most frequently contravened laws and suggesting the establishment of a monopoly to simplify the policing of the almanac trade.<sup>176</sup> The idea was taken up by Officer Fiscal Craesbeek in early 1630, and Verdussen was invited to apply for the monopoly. He was eager to oblige, but did point out that to do the job properly he would need to invest at least £500 in new type.<sup>177</sup> If this was a hint that official funding would be appreciated, Verdussen was entirely mistaken about the government’s priorities: his tenure of the monopoly was to be subject to an annual charge of £1200 artois to cover the costs of enforcing it, to be paid to the Count of Solre in two installments.<sup>178</sup> Later in the year action was taken against Verhoeven and another Antwerp printer, Godtgaf Verhulst (who had been fined for unlicensed printing in 1625, and was to be again in 1655)<sup>179</sup> for breaches of Verdussen’s monopoly.<sup>180</sup>

Verdussen’s position was not, however, assured. When the charter granting his monopoly was proclaimed in Flanders, the printers of Ghent protested, and as a result the States of Flanders petitioned for its revocation.<sup>181</sup> In Brussels, twelve printers petitioned the king directly, in a document signed by, among others, Widow Anthoon, printer to the court, and Widow Mommaert, printer to the city.<sup>182</sup> Under pressure from the Guild of St Luke, the magistrates of Antwerp put off proclaiming the monopoly, dated 27 May, until after 12 September.<sup>183</sup> Their first line of defence having failed, the guild turned to the

175 ‘vervult met ongeregelde concepten, streckende tot onstichtinge vande gemeijnte’, ARB, Rekenkamer, 145 (Charters, licences, etc. 1629–1644), fo. 24.

176 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5880, no. 1; dossier 5883, no. 60.

177 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5883, no. 60.

178 ARB, Rekenkamer 145, fo. 23v–25.

179 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5880, no. 1; dossier 5883, nos. 6(1) & 8.

180 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5881, no. 2.

181 SAA, GA, box 4574, folder 4, unnumbered document.

182 J.A. Goris, ‘Het monopool der almanakken van H. Verdussen (1619–1630)’, *Gulden Passer*, new series 3:3 (1925), p. 121n.

183 SAA, GA, box 4574, folder 4, three unnumbered documents.

States of Brabant, then in session, with the argument that the fee paid by Verdussen for the monopoly would be passed on to the consumer, thus constituting an indirect tax.<sup>184</sup> Annual almanac sales throughout the Habsburg Netherlands were estimated at one million units ('thien hondert duysent').<sup>185</sup>

Verdussen himself argued that the improvement in quality would mean added value off-setting the increased cost, and that the monopoly entailed no diminution of privileges since the printing trade was subject to royal control directly, rather than 'mediately' through privileged bodies.<sup>186</sup> This was perhaps not the best argument to present to the States, who chose to see the monopoly as a threat to the principle of taxation solely by consent. The third estate made the cancellation of Verdussen's privilege a condition of dealing with the requested subsidies, already approved by the first two estates, and Isabella, in a proclamation breathing princely displeasure, revoked the octrooi she had granted six months earlier.<sup>187</sup> Unfortunately, 1630 is the one year of the Archduchess's entire governor generalship (1621–1633) for which her correspondence with the States of Brabant is missing.<sup>188</sup> For Verdussen this government climb-down was a disaster: he lost his down payment of 1200 guilders and his future prospects as a government monopolist were destroyed. A decade later he wrote to Pierre Roose that this, together with being gazumped ('ondercopen') for the mastership of the mint, was the cause of a depression ('a miserable life of continual melancholy'), only then, in November 1641, beginning to lift.<sup>189</sup>

In March 1631 Verhoeven obtained a Council of Brabant licence to publish almanacs.<sup>190</sup> Despite this, the officer fiscal of Brabant, perhaps to avoid refunding Verdussen's down payment, enforced Verdussen's revoked monopoly against Verhoeven, although not against any other printers. Verhoeven, his Council of Brabant licence notwithstanding, found himself banned from selling his almanacs for 1632 in Brabant, and thought he saw a loophole in shipping them for sale in other provinces. Since he had no Privy Council licence, however, on 1 December 1631 orders were sent out to royal officials throughout the Netherlands to search out and seize all copies of unlicensed almanacs,

184 SAA, GA, box 4574, folder 4, unnumbered document.

185 Ibid.

186 Ibid.

187 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5883, 190 no. 30. The proclamation decreeing this volte-face entered the statute books and was to be studied by Brabantine lawyers until the end of the old regime.

188 The rest of the correspondence is in ARB, Audiëntie, 2018 no. 1.

189 ARB, GRSP, 1555, Roose papers vol. 56, fo. 209.

190 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5883 no. 31.

specifically (and solely) naming Verhoeven as a known culprit.<sup>191</sup> Given the usual laxness in implementing the licensing laws, the expenditure of manpower on such a scale to suppress almanacs that contained no hint of sedition or heresy and had been duly licensed by the Council of Brabant suggests targeted harassment rather than due process. But it may also reflect a new, if short-lived, concern about control of the press.

Apart from the issue of almanac publication, which drifted in and out of prominence from 1626 to 1632, January 1631 saw the shocking discovery that a Brussels bookseller, François Vivien, had been importing the *Mercure françois* in bulk. At the time of the Substitute Procurator General's raid on Wednesday, 22 January, Vivien's shop contained nine copies of the fifteenth edition of the offending journal, but various witnesses deposed that he had sold at least a hundred copies in the course of the preceding week. Not only was Vivien's remaining stock confiscated and he himself heavily fined, the Substitute was also ordered by the court to visit all the booksellers of Antwerp and Brussels to remind them of the illegality of stocking such works, and to confiscate any other copies found.<sup>192</sup> But once the shocks of 1630–32 had passed, it was not until 1640 that news publication again impinged on policy-making at the highest level.

The onslaught on his legal position was not Verhoeven's only problem. The loss of the silver fleet at Matanzas in 1628 must have damaged his credibility, since he had quickly put out accounts rubbishing Dutch claims.<sup>193</sup> It also precipitated a slump at Antwerp in 1629 that cannot but have affected his business. It is not clear whether the reduced production costs of the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* were pure savings, or were passed on to the consumer to encourage sales in lean times. The enormous losses from the destruction of his almanacs in 1630 and 1631 can hardly have helped his business, while the large-scale diversion of French carts and teamsters to haul supplies and munitions for the Mantuan war had pushed up the cost of paper, which was still largely imported from France.<sup>194</sup>

Late in 1631 or early in 1632, Verhoeven again changed the title and format of his newspaper, reducing the size to a small handbill. It became the *Courante uyt Duytschandt &c.*, with both title and layout so similar to Van Hilten's Amsterdam *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschland* that one suspects some sort

191 ARB, GRSP, 1278 no. 200.

192 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5883, no. 3.

193 Verhoeven's denials of the loss of the silver fleet gained assurance from the fact that twice in the previous five years it had been falsely reported lost by Dutch newswriters.

194 Leon Voet, *Golden Compasses*, vol. 2, p. 32.

of sharp practice. By 1633, Verhoeven, then about 58 years old, was in serious financial difficulties, and on 5 September he rented out his shop to his son, Isaac Verhoeven. On 1 August 1634 he made over to Isaac the 'Golden Hand' and all its contents, and all his rights to news publication, in return for a guarantee that his son would support him for the rest of his life.<sup>195</sup> Isaac was to continue publishing the *Courante*, but the printer identified on each issue was still to be Abraham Verhoeven, presumably in an attempt to retain the licence issued under that name. The transaction was in all likelihood intended to prevent Verhoeven's creditors from having his key assets seized.

The last known issue of the *Courante* appeared on 6 September 1634. On 9 September 1634 Verhoeven paid for the issuing of a Council of Brabant octrooi to print an almanac for the coming year.<sup>196</sup> At about the same time, the printer Cesar-Joachim Trognésius (active 1627–1643) sued for payment of a debt of 1345 guilders, and on 12 September the magistrates gave Verhoeven a year to settle. The last evidence of his activity as a publisher is an account of the Cardinal Infant's victory at Nördlingen and reception in the Netherlands, printed as an eight-page pamphlet in November 1634.<sup>197</sup> Verhoeven was unable to meet the repayment terms, and on 20 October 1635 a property still in his name, the 'Golden Horse' in the Kammerstraat, was seized and sold publicly, the proceeds going to Trognésius in partial settlement of the debt. The 'Golden Hand', now the property not of Abraham but of Isaac Verhoeven, was safe.

On 19 February 1637 Isaac Verhoeven died, and as a result the 'Golden Hand' reverted to his father and was sequestered. On 3 April, the house and contents were sold at public auction on the Friday Market. Catharina Hamers, the widow of Isaac Verhoeven, made an attempt to save the family's fortunes by buying back the plant—press, forms and letters—for 591 guilders. She moved into the 'Golden Sun', where her father-in-law was again living, and brought out a newspaper under her own name, the *Extraordinarisse Posttjidinghe des Jaers 1637*, one issue of which survives.<sup>198</sup> Like the *Courante* it was suspiciously similar in format and title to an existing newspaper, in this case the *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghen* printed in Antwerp since 1635 by Willem Verdussen. In 1639

195 Van den Branden, p. 37.

196 ARB, Rekenkamer 20804, fo. 134.

197 *Cort verhael vande Triumphante incomste des Prince Cardinael Infant, inde Stadt Brussel, den 4. November 1634. Als mede van sijn gheluckighe reyse ende treffelijcke Victorien die hy ghehadt heeft voor Nortlinghen* (T'Hantwerpen, By Abraham Verhoeven, op de Lombaerde veste inde gulde Handt, n.d.).

198 The surviving issue is dated 24 April 1637. On the contract of sale for the plant, see Goovaerts, p. 152.

Verhoeven's second wife began mortgaging the property she had inherited from her first husband in 1616, and it was sold in 1641.<sup>199</sup> By 1642, when the Council of State instituted enquiries into the number and identity of newspaper publishers in Antwerp, only two were found: Martin Binnart and Willem Verdussen.<sup>200</sup> At his death in 1652, Verhoeven was destitute.<sup>201</sup>

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199 Goovaerts, *Abraham Verhoeven*, pp. 154–155.

200 See below, p. 195.

201 Van den Branden, p. 73.

## Verhoeven and the News of Europe

The context in which newspaper production has so far been discussed has been that of the local milieu of the Antwerp book trade, the Lipsian humanist circle, and political-cultural patronage in the Habsburg Netherlands. However, newspapers were an international phenomenon, not simply in that they were printed in many lands, but also because the news they printed came from across Europe, and the printed sheets themselves circulated widely along trade and postal routes. Abraham Verhoeven's individual editorial decisions only make sense within the structures of information flows and the culture of publicity that limited them. First the pattern of subscription to foreign newswriting services attested by the internal evidence of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* will be considered, on the basis of 1186 issues out of a probable original total of 1336 from the years 1620–1629. Then a comparison will be made with the other newspapers that survive for the sample year of 1623 in the collections consulted. This comparison will serve three purposes: demonstrating the extent to which common structures of communication produced news that was the same in all newspapers; showing the variety of types of news covered, with illustrative quotations to give a sense of the style of coverage; and examining reporting of specific great events, to see how different confessional and dynastic loyalties were expressed within the common communications structure. One conclusion that can be derived from a reading of the news reports is that although newswriters and newspaper editors had access only to public information, they were willing and able to speculate about secret decisions and negotiations on the basis of the facts available.

### International News in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*

When he began publication of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* in 1620, Verhoeven subscribed to a very narrow range of regular correspondence on which to base a regular news publication. The regular reporting was made up exclusively of letters from Vienna and Prague, eked out with whatever news came to hand from other sources. As his business prospered, he made efforts to expand his correspondence, and by mid-1623 his regular news came from a wide spread of cities, and his occasional sources were among the most far-ranging of the time. While the reports of most newspapers were confined to two or three language areas (typically the German, the Italian and perhaps the French), the Dutch-language



*Nieuwe Tijdinghen* in addition drew not infrequently on English and Spanish sources, giving it one of the widest linguistic, as well as geographical, ranges.

As the 1620 octrooi spoke of victories and sieges in the Empire, it is not surprising that the bulk of Verhoeven's stories came from Germany, Austria and Bohemia, and largely concerned the war. In second place came reports from Italy, followed by the Low Countries, France, England, Spain, Poland, and elsewhere. Of the 4623 stories in all of Verhoeven's newspapers studied from the years 1620–1629 which were datelined from specific towns or provinces, 2461 (53.2%), came from eleven sources, in descending order of frequency: Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Rome, Venice, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg, the Army of Flanders (including the Army of the Palatinate in 1620), the Dunkirk fleet, and The Hague. The other half (2162 stories) came from 400 different locations, but within this mass of minor sources fifteen centres of secondary importance can be discerned. Again in descending order, these were Madrid, Danzig, Calais, Breslau (Wrocław), Brussels, the imperial army (under Bucquoy and later under Wallenstein), Lübeck, Milan, Antwerp itself, London, Augsburg, Wesel and, in joint thirteenth place, Leipzig, Seville and 's-Hertogenbosch. Beyond these was yet another group, standing out from the hundreds of sources which supplied no more than one or two reports, but trailing significantly behind those already listed: Ostend, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Eger, Frankfurt, Hessen, Linz, Mainz, Münster, Speyer, Stettin, Toruń, Rouen, Lyon, the army of the king of France (only during the Huguenot wars of 1621–22 and 1628), Genoa and Constantinople. Thus the core of Verhoeven's news network was not made up of nearby political and economic centres, shading out towards the fringes, but of a 'skeleton' of great European centres concentrated on the main international postal routes, the body being fleshed out with occasional reports obtained through the lesser local networks of each of these centres (Map 2).

None of the remaining 368 towns and provinces which provided only occasional reports were of great significance to Verhoeven's output as a whole, but they demonstrate the outer limits of his information network, in terms of distance, density and local detail. Reports datelined from places outside Europe all originated either within the Spanish Monarchy or with missionary priests. Several extra-European reports were, however, received mediately, for instance news from Syria and Persia in letters from Venice or Constantinople, or in one case from Lisbon, and in these cases the news clearly followed the routes of international commerce.<sup>1</sup> News from Saltee reported via Dunkirk likewise

1 News from Syria, Damascus, Constantinople and Venice, forwarded from Lisbon on 4 June, in *NT* 1622 101 (8 July), headlined *Nieuwe Tijdinghe wt de Indiaensche Zee* (New Tidings from the Indian Ocean).



MAP 2 *A map of the most frequent sources of the reports printed in Abraham Verhoeven's Nieuwe Tijdinghe, 1620–1629, with the routes between them and Antwerp.*

followed the routes of international privateering. Of the local networks within the European area, it is clear that some were more developed, or more accessible to Verhoeven, than others. Provincial sources in England, for example, only amounted to one news report each from Dover, Salisbury and Plymouth, with the story from Plymouth forwarded by an intermediary probably in London.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, there was a larger number of infrequent reports from a larger number of provincial towns in France: Bayonne, Blois, Bordeaux, Boulogne, Limoges and La Rochelle, as well as Calais, Lyon and Rouen, already mentioned as of the second and third rank.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there were reports from

2 News from Plymouth in *NT* 1622 no. 146 (2 Sept.); from Salisbury in *NT* 1625 no. 127 (17 Dec.); from Dover in *NT* 1628 no. 138 (20 Dec.).

3 News from Bayonne in *NT* 1627 no. 146 (31 Dec.); from Blois in *NT* 1622 nos. 53 (10 April) and 55 (20 April); Bordeaux in *NT* 1622 no. 79 (4 June); Boulogne in *NT* 1624 no. 19 (23 Feb.), 1628 no. 82

countless small garrison towns in the Low Countries, the Rhineland and Westphalia, particularly the areas where the carrier networks of Hamburg, Cologne, Amsterdam and Antwerp overlapped. This was an area where, for much of the time, tiny units from the armies of the Habsburgs, the League, and their enemies skirmished from village to village, each trying to maximise their area of contribution. Such jockeying for advantage was reported in exhausting detail. Since these villages lay along some of the main mercantile routes of this corner of Europe, linking the major cities listed above, it is no surprise that readers would want to know exactly how safe they were, and who controlled them.

The figures given are not entirely reliable except as rough guides, as they do not include stories without a dateline or with very general indication of origin such as 'France', 'Spain', 'Upper Saxony' or 'Germany', of which there were 401. Thus Madrid, providing 70 stories, would appear to have been more important than London, providing exactly half that amount, yet there were eighty-two stories from 'England' which, on internal evidence, would mostly seem to have come from London, bringing the total to over a hundred. Against this, there were only thirty-eight stories from unspecified Spanish sources, and many of these could as easily have come from Seville or one of the various towns that provided infrequent reports—Cadiz, Salamanca, San Lúcar or San Sebastian.

The rankings given so far are based on a broad overview of a decade's reports: on an annual or weekly basis the relative number of reports from various countries and cities varied enormously, and for many different reasons. Reports on English affairs, for instance, peaked in the summer months of the years 1625–27, when Charles I was actively prosecuting a war with the Habsburgs. On the contrary, the reports from France were most frequent in precisely those years of closest rapprochement between their Christian and Catholic majesties, particularly during the Huguenot war of 1621–1622 and from the Peace of Monzón (March 1626) to the fall of La Rochelle (October 1628).

One of the main causes of the variation over time was Verhoeven's choices about subscription to newswriting services, according to which his regular supply of news grew or shrank. To take the example of French news, in October or November of 1620 he decided to take newsletters from Paris, and he continued to print these until August 1622, perhaps then deciding that any news from France worth having would in any case be reported in the letters from Calais to which he subscribed from April 1622 until the end of the year, or in the reports from Cologne he had been receiving on a regular basis since July or August

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(2 Aug.); Limoges in *NT* 1623 no. 66 (2 June); La Rochelle in *NT* 1621 no. 91 (17 June), 1628 no. 64 (16 June).

1620, and to which he maintained his subscription until 1634. From August 1620, he received reports directly from Spinola's army as well as from Cologne, in both cases his main interest being the invasion of the Palatinate. From late August to the end of September 1620, Verhoeven even published a separately numbered series (with Roman numerals on the title page rather than consecutive signatures inside) devoted to the conquest of the Palatinate.<sup>4</sup>

From the beginning of 1621, each issue of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was numbered on the title page, making its position in the series clearer to the general reader. There were also new regular reports. The first of a series of reports from The Hague was printed on 10 March, but was dated 31 January, suggesting that Verhoeven had begun negotiations with a newswriter at the beginning of the year.<sup>5</sup> The New Year also saw the inclusion of regular reports from Rome and Venice.<sup>6</sup> The dynamic was not all growth: reports from Augsburg began to appear from 12 March (the first dated 17 February), but stopped again after 27 August.<sup>7</sup> From 27 April 1621 to 5 November 1622 there were reports from Brussels on an almost monthly basis, but this was a source of news which was clearly treated with great caution, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Reports from The Hague also became far more irregular after March 1622, but from the beginning of that year until August 1624, Verhoeven was printing reports from Amsterdam far more frequently.<sup>8</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch came briefly to prominence in January (when the garrison relieved their boredom with a series of raids across the Maas), and again from July to September, when it became the main centre for reporting on the progress of the siege of Bergen op Zoom, which was also covered in reports from the besieging army (as the sieges of Jülich and Sluis had been).<sup>9</sup> From January to September 1622 there were reports from Speyer and its territory, and the one report from Bruchsal, the prince-bishop's residence, dates from May.<sup>10</sup> As has been mentioned, regular reports from Calais also began to appear from April 1622, being maintained

4 NT 1620 nos. I (28 Aug.) to X (undated; containing letter dated Cologne 28 Sept.).

5 NT 1621 no. 33 (10 March).

6 Both from NT 1621 no. 12 (dated 'January').

7 NT 1621 nos. 36, 121 (other reports in nos. 46, 48, 54, 74, 81, 91, 105, 108).

8 Regular reports from Amsterdam, the first dated 15 and 25 Dec. 1621, are found in issues from NT 1622 no. 3 (7 Jan.) to 1624 no. 94 (13 Sept.).

9 News from 's-Hertogenbosch in NT 1622 nos. 3 (7 Jan.) to 8 (18 Jan.), and 106 (15 July) to 147 (23 Sept.); from the army before Jülich in NT 1621 no. 163 (10 Nov.) to 1622 no. 21 (11 Feb.), before Sluis NT 1622 nos 8 (14 Jan.), 8[sic] (18 Jan.), 45 (26 March), 52 (8 April), before Bergen op Zoom NT 1622 nos 113 (30 July) to 151 (7 Oct.).

10 NT 1622 nos. 7 (14 Jan.) to 134 (2 Sept.).

until March 1623.<sup>11</sup> By the beginning of 1623, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was in regular receipt of news from Vienna, Prague, Cologne, the Army of Flanders, Rome, Venice, Amsterdam and Calais, and had at one time or another also received regular bulletins from Paris, The Hague, Augsburg, 's-Hertogenbosch and Speyer.

Table 1 shows the regularity with which reports were received from the twenty-one foreign sources most frequent in Verhoeven's datelines (those identified above as of the first and second rank). One of the things clear from this is that the bulk of the many reports from northern Germany (Hamburg, Lübeck, Leipzig) only began to appear from the mid to late 1620s, after Denmark had entered the Thirty Years' War and especially during Wallenstein's Baltic campaign. During this period the previously established sources in Vienna, Prague, Rome and Venice continued to supply the news of Central and Southern Europe. Verhoeven also seems to have re-subscribed to correspondence from Paris in 1626. This pattern of a small central core supplemented with a rather more fluid subscription policy and a plethora of occasional reports continued throughout the newspaper's short life.

	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631
Vienna												
Prague												
Cologne												
Rome												
Venice												
Paris												
Amsterdam												
Hamburg												
The Hague												
Madrid												
Danzig												
Calais												
Breslau												
imperial army												
Lubeck												
Milan												
London												
Augsburg												
Wesel												
Seville												
Leipzig												

TABLE 1 *Frequency of reports from the 21 most commonly used foreign sources in Abraham Verhoeven's NieuweTijdinghen (1620–1629) and Wekelijcke Tijdinghen (1629–1631).*

11 NT 1622 no. 54 (13 April) to 1623 no. 25 (5 March); occasional reports in NT 1623 no. 123 (27 Oct.); 1624 no. 27 (8 March); 1625 nos 8 (7 Feb.), 12 (5 March), 16 (14 March), 19 (20 March), 28 (11 April), 99 (3 Oct.), 109 (31 Oct.), 120 (28 Nov.); 1626 no. 7 (24 Jan.).

Verhoeven's main sources may have been limited to a dozen cities (still a fairly wide network compared to some newspapers), but these cities were in turn at the centre of their own information networks. This is illustrated by Table 2 showing the main reports from 1623. The second column shows the main sources for news in the course of the year, the third column the wider origin of reports that were passed on from these centres, often on an irregular basis.

It is therefore important to distinguish between the place of origin of a report, and the location in which the events reported took place. Venice was a major source of reports, but comparatively few of them dealt with the affairs of the Republic itself: the majority simply passed on news from Milan, Rome and Constantinople. Verhoeven's coverage of Venetian affairs was in fact fairly scanty, despite the large share of reports from Venice in his coverage of the affairs of Italy and the Valtelline, and their dominance in his coverage of news from Turkey. Reports from Rome, on the other hand, nearly always dealt primarily with news from the city itself, as well as frequently including news from the lesser towns of the Papal States and from Naples, only occasionally ranging more widely. Therefore, taken on their own, datelines provide a very inadequate picture of the geographical area reported on, as opposed to the extent of Verhoeven's subscriptions to news services (Map 3).

To take the example of news from England, in the period 1622–1629 Verhoeven printed 361 reports containing news of English affairs. Only 141 (39%) of these were reports datelined from England (e.g. 'Tijdinghe Wt Londen'). The rest of the news of English affairs was contained in reports from elsewhere: 80 (22%) from France, 44 (12%) from Holland, 32 (9%) from the Habsburg Netherlands, 27 (7%) from the Empire, 20 (6%) from Spain, and 17 (5%) from Italy.<sup>12</sup> The reports datelined from Spain and the Empire (with the exception of Cologne) dealt almost entirely with English activities there: Prince Charles's visit, the Cadiz raid, the role of British ambassadors or soldiers in the Bohemian and German conflicts. Those from the Habsburg Netherlands largely came from the Flemish Fleet, and dealt partly with the fleet's activities in British waters or against British shipping, partly with news picked up in British ports; besides these, there were a few diplomatic reports from Brussels. When England was mentioned in reports from Italy, the subject was the role of Englishmen in international diplomacy and Mediterranean trade. But the stories from France and Holland do not fit any such simple pattern. Paris, Rouen and Amsterdam were important, if subsidiary, sources for general news from

12 For a fuller development see Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications', *Media History* 11 (2005), pp. 21–36.

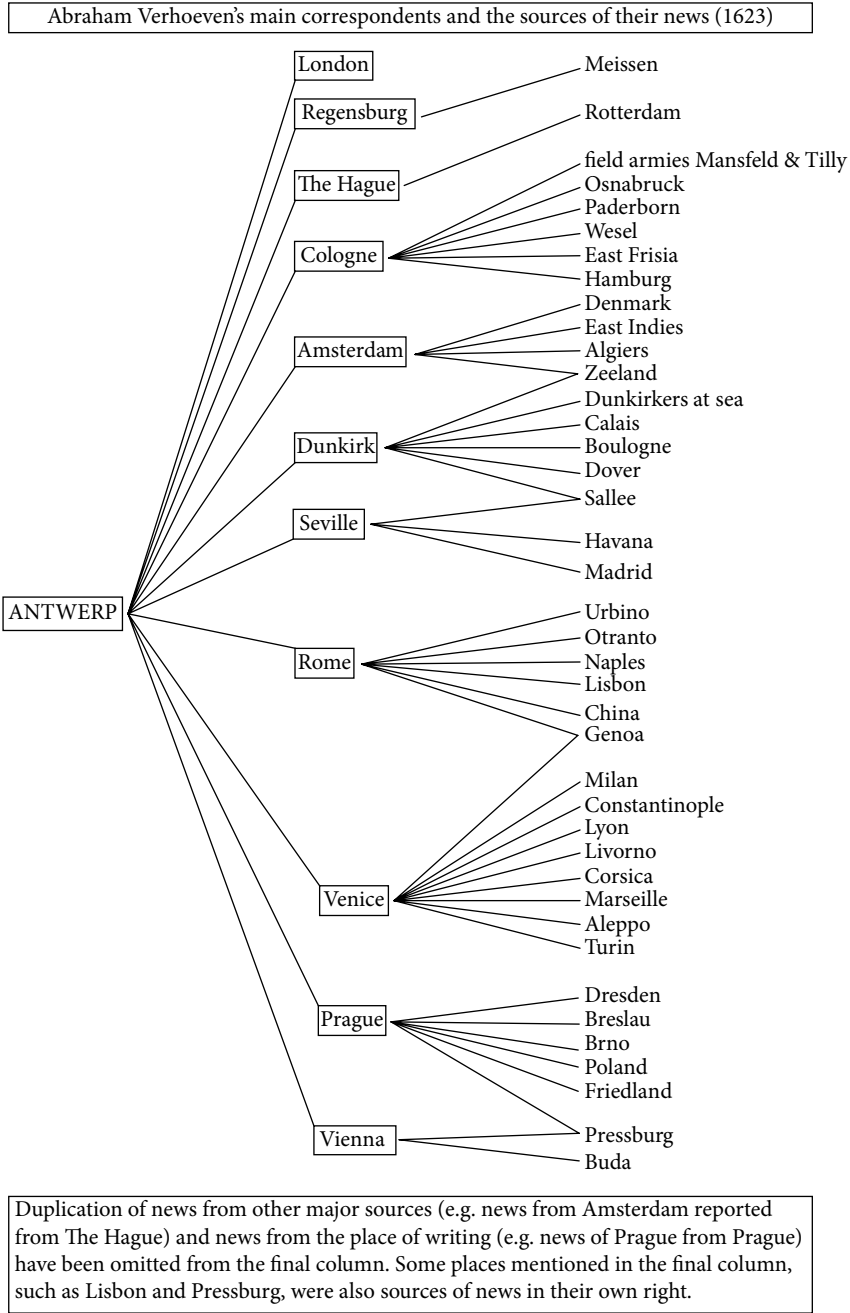
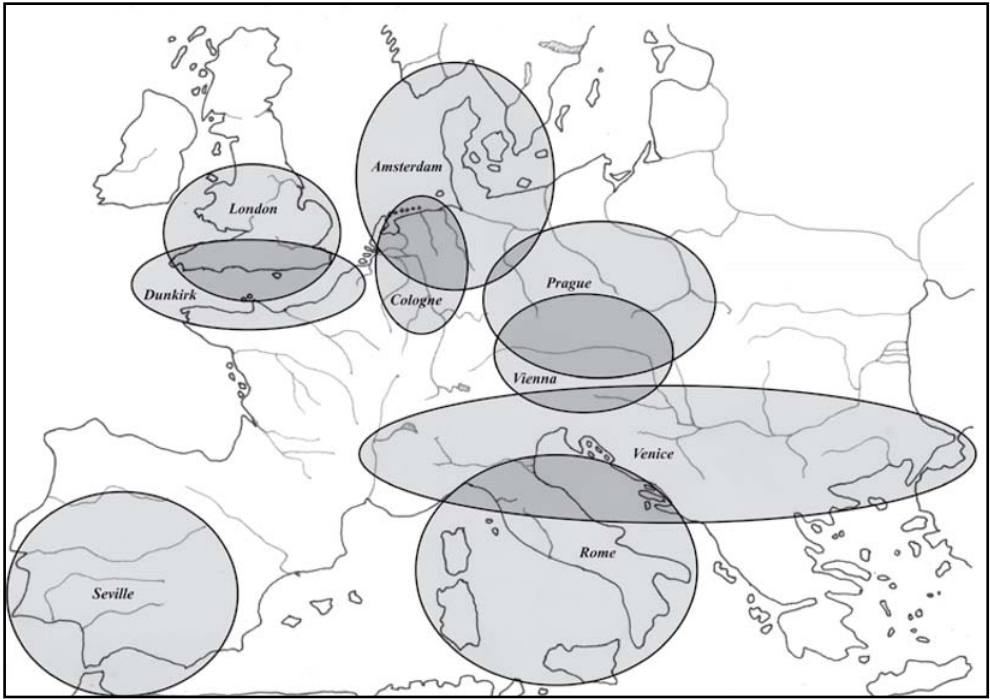


TABLE 2     *Abraham Verhoeven's main correspondents and the sources of their news (1623).*



MAP 3 *Parts of Europe from which some of Verhoeven's main sources provided news in the year 1623.*

England itself, together accounting for almost a fifth of Verhoeven's coverage of England's internal affairs. Strangely, Cologne, while not of such importance, was also a source for purely English news. So while reports from England made up only 3% of all the reports published in the years 1622–1629, this statistic only reflects England's share in Verhoeven's subscription to news services. He was far more interested in news about England than the figure implies. Verhoeven's full picture of English affairs took in reports from Paris, Rouen, Amsterdam and Cologne, while his understanding of England's role in Europe and the wider world can only be recreated by reading the full range of reports, including those from such distant places as Prague, Madrid and Venice.

The interlocking information networks of Western Christendom meant that news of events taking place in one part of Europe rapidly became public knowledge in all the others. News from beyond the European area was channelled through specialised networks (news from Havana through Seville, from Amboyna through Amsterdam, from Syria through Venice), but even these were not exclusive. In 1623 Verhoeven printed three reports datelined 'Constantinople', one of which contained news from Aleppo, but fourteen reports from Venice (out of 28), two from Vienna (out of 29) and the one report



from Danzig also included news from Constantinople, and one report from Venice included news from Aleppo.

News from within Europe could almost as easily be reported from one city as another, so news from Portugal could come directly from Lisbon, or from Seville, Calais, Genoa or Rome; news from England came from London, but also from Paris, Rouen, Amsterdam and Cologne; news from the Valtelline came through Venice, Lyon, Milan, Rome, Schweiz and Zürich; news from Paris was reported from Lyon and Brussels. The list could be extended.

While the printing of news pamphlets and engravings should be seen in the perspective of what events were celebrated locally, newspapers have to be seen in this much more international perspective of European newswriting networks.<sup>13</sup> They made Western Europe's shared community of information visible in print. Sometimes the international transfer of news from centre to centre is explicit in the stories printed. A letter from Venice in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* 1624 issue 10 (26 January), for instance, contains two items: one from Milan relating news from Spain concerning naval preparations in Spanish harbours, and one from Livorno that English and Dutch mariners had brought news from Gibraltar concerning the Algerian corsairs. Once printed in Antwerp, an extra level of transmission was added to these third-hand reports.

### Verhoeven's Colleagues and Rivals

The international character of early newspapers makes it impossible to study any of them in a purely national context. To obtain a clearer view of the ways in which the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was a typical newspaper of the period, and to what extent it was unusual, the sources of its reports and its coverage of the news will be compared with a number of contemporary publications for the sample year 1623: the *Tijdinghen* of Amsterdam, the *Strasbourg Relation*, the *Zeitungen* of Frankfurt, Hamburg and Zürich, and the *Avisen* of Berlin. This comparison will give some idea of the framework of possibilities within which Verhoeven's editorial decisions were taken. Further comparison of the major stories covered in 1623 will indicate how well informed Europe's newsreading public was of the public affairs of the time.

Verhoeven's arch-rival was Broer Janszoon (or Jansz.) of Amsterdam, publisher of an untitled newspaper which was later to become the *Tijdinghen uyt*

13 A point already made by Anthony Smith in his *The Newspaper: An International History* (London, 1979), although with no indication of how these networks interacted or changed over time.

*verscheyde quartieren* (TVQ), a French edition of which was printed as *Nouvelles de Divers Quartiers*. Janszoon's style was as militantly Orangist and Calvinist as Verhoeven's was Habsburg and Catholic, and each delighted in assaulting the credibility of the other. Before setting up as a newspaper publisher, Janszoon had been *veldschrijver* ('fieldwriter') or *courantier* in the army of Maurice of Nassau, a fact proudly proclaimed on each issue. Prior to starting his newspaper he had also had accounts and depictions of successful actions and sieges published, beginning with the siege of Sluis in 1604,<sup>14</sup> and from 1606 he was printing Calvinist almanacs so strictly Reformed that they contained no prognostications beyond weather forecasts.<sup>15</sup> There was a potential for direct rivalry between Verhoeven and Janszoon from very early in their careers.

Janszoon's Amsterdam was not just a major centre of shipping and commodity trading and thus an important centre for the transmission and consumption of news, it was also the propaganda centre of international Calvinism. In Amsterdam in 1620, newspapers were published in Dutch, French and English, and sent to Cologne to be translated and published as *Wochentliche Niderländische Postzeitungen*, 'Gedruckt nach der Holländischen Copey'. More so than Verhoeven, with his occasional French or Latin issues, the Amsterdam newspaper publishers were printing the news for an international readership. The same was certainly not true of the untitled provincial newspaper printed by Jan Janssen in Arnhem, three copies of which survive from 1623. Two other newspapers were printed in Holland in 1623 but do not survive in the collections consulted: Caspar van Hilten's *Courante* in Amsterdam (which his son Jan took over in the course of the year), printed by Joris Veseler (or Vezelaer), and Jan Andriessen's Delft reprint of Janszoon's paper, which occasionally carried news not found in the original.<sup>16</sup> Although there were at least four newspapers printed in the United Provinces, as against one in the Royal Provinces, the perspective did not vary: all were Orangist and Calvinist in outlook, although Van Hilten's paper (printed by Vezelaer) had the reputation of being more reliable than Janszoon's, at least according to the poet-magistrate P.C. Hooft.<sup>17</sup>

Another keenly 'Reformed' newspaper was Zürich's *Neue Unpartheysche Zeitung* (NUZ) owned and edited by Johann Rudolf Wolf (died 1624), son of

14 Beginning with *Journael ofte Dachregister van't principaelste in Vlaenderen geschiet* (Amsterdam, for Broer Janszoon, 1604). Knuttel 1276.

15 Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk* (Zutphen, 1999), pp. 64, 118.

16 On Andriessen in Delft see Schneider & Hemels, *Nederlandse krant*, p. 52.

17 'de loopmaeren van Vezelaer, dien zij zeggen zinlijker te zijn als Broer', P.C. Hooft to Joost Baak, Muiden, 25 August 1631, in *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*, edited by H.W. van Tricht et al., vol. 2 (Culemborg, 1977), p. 233.

the civic choirmaster and scholaster Hans Wolf.<sup>18</sup> Wolf was one of the few newspaper publishers to keep up the sole use of old-style dates, boasting on the masthead 'New Impartial Tidings and Relations from all sorts of credible letters of this year 1623. Directed to the Old Calendar'.<sup>19</sup> Other newspapers used new style or a combination of old and new in the form '11/21' or '11.21'. It is impossible to generalise on the basis of the four issues surviving from 1623, but one can at least make a simple statement of what was there. As Cologne, The Hague, Lyon, Prague, Rome and Venice were prominent as sources in 1633 and were also among the sources used by many of the other German newspapers in 1623, their appearance in the four issues of the *Neue Unpartheysche Zeittung* of 1623 seems unlikely to be atypical.<sup>20</sup>

The doyen of the weekly press, Strasbourg's *Relation aller Fürnemen und Gedenckwürdigen Historien* (RFGH), was published by Johann Carolus, son of an Evangelical minister.<sup>21</sup> It too took a Protestant line, but less stridently so than the Reformed newspapers of Holland and Zürich. Carolus's caution may well have been influenced by the political ambiguities of Strasbourg's position. The imperial city of Strasbourg was the bulwark of Rhineland Evangelicalism, but it was also the see of a prince-bishopric recently recatholicised by Cardinal Charles of Lorraine (bishop 1592–1607) and subsequently in Habsburg hands: from 1607 to 1625 the bishop was Leopold, Emperor Ferdinand II's brother; from 1625 to 1662, Leopold William, Emperor Ferdinand III's brother.<sup>22</sup> The stance of cautiously critical Protestant loyalism found in Strasbourg was also adopted in the *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (WZMO) printed in Hamburg by Paul Lange and edited by the proprietor, Johann Meyer, a licensed carrier and professional newswriter.<sup>23</sup>

18 Else Bogel, *Schweizer Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen, 1973), p. 20.

19 *Neue Unpartheysche Zeittung und Relation auß allerhand glaubwürdigen Sendbriefen diß Jahrs 1623. Gerichtet auff den Alten Calender.*

20 The 50 issues from 1633 (in ZBZ) contained 624 reports (12.5 per issue), the bulk of the stories (463, or 74%) coming from Frankfurt (52), Alsace (47), Cologne (46), Vienna (34), The Hague (31), Paris (27), Brussels (25), Swabia (25), Venice (23), Zell (18), Rome (18), Franconia (18), Leipzig (18), Lyon (18), Breslau (16), Milan (14), Augsburg (12), Madrid (11) and London (10).

21 Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History* 24:3 (2006), pp. 387–412.

22 Francis Rapp, 'Strassburg. Hochstift und Freie Reichsstadt', in *Die Territorien des Reichs*, vol. 5, edited by Anton Schindling & Walter Ziegler (Münster, 1993), pp. 73, 86–90.

23 Bogel & Blühm, p. 29.

In Frankfurt, the *Wochentliche Zeitung* (WZF) appeared from 1618, initially without a fixed title, then for a while as the *Unvergreiffliche Postzeitungen*.<sup>24</sup> The publisher was the imperial postmaster for Frankfurt, Johann von den Birghden (died 1645). At first his newspaper was as loyalist as those of Strasbourg and Hamburg, but in the course of the 1620s he faced accusations—which he later stressed had never been proven in a court of law—of correspondence with the enemy and the spreading of news inimical to the imperial cause.<sup>25</sup> These accusations first surfaced in 1623, when he argued that any correspondence with enemy generals and the councillors of the Prince Palatine, and the dissemination of news stories from the Netherlands written from an anti-Habsburg perspective, had been carried out only in the execution of his duties. Nevertheless, he was in 1627 deprived of the imperial postmastership, and testimonials from the Count of Tilly and the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz did not lead to his reinstatement. In the 1630s he threw in his lot with the invading Swedes. All the Protestant newspapers made extensive use of his *Postzeitungen*, or possibly of a parallel newswriting service based at the Frankfurt post office, but Verhoeven published very little news from Frankfurt at all, despite the large population of wealthy Flemish merchants and master artisans settled in the city.<sup>26</sup> Finally, use has been made of the *Avisen auß Berlin* (AAB), founded in or before 1617 by Christoph Frischmann, postmaster of electoral Brandenburg. From 1618 to 1655 the *Avisen* was published by Widow Frischmann.<sup>27</sup>

As can be seen from Table 3 below, the editors of all these newspapers had remarkably similar subscription strategies. All made prominent use of reports from Rome, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Amsterdam and The Hague. Less extensive but still fairly frequent use was made of Lyon, Leipzig, Breslau, Bremen and Brussels. This degree of sameness is also to be found among the occasional reports. For instance, the same report from Altenau appeared in at least two of the newspapers considered, as did one from the Graubünden.<sup>28</sup> Together, The Hague and Amsterdam had replaced Antwerp as the main source of news from the Low Countries and overseas, a function Antwerp had still

24 Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1921), p. 80.

25 Birghden's misfortunes are covered at length in Karl Heinz Kremer, *Johan von den Birghden, 1582–1645: Kaiserlicher und königlich-schwedischer Postmeister zu Frankfurt am Main* (Presse und Geschichte, Neue Beiträge 15; Bremen, 2005), esp. pp. 196–199, 269–321, on which this paragraph is based.

26 Dietz, op. cit., pp. 64–67.

27 Bogel & Blühm, p. 20.

28 AAB 29 & WZMO 27; RFGH 1 & WZMO 1.

filled as recently as 1609.<sup>29</sup> In other respects 1623 was atypical, since Regensburg, not otherwise a major source, was prominent in all papers except the *Avisen auß Berlin*. Verhoeven's surviving issues contain only eighteen stories from Regensburg in the entire period 1620–1629, thirteen of them in the first half of 1623. A *Deputationstag* held in Regensburg, a formal gathering of representatives of the principalities of the Empire, ensured that for a few months (January to May) the city was at the centre of Europe's attention. The lack of news from Regensburg in the *Avisen* is easily explained: no issue survives from the first half of the year. To a lesser extent, Breslau's prominence as a newswriting centre may have been temporarily inflated by the joint session of the States of Silesia and Lusatia in 1623, and that of Brussels by its convenience for German editors as a source of news on the marriage negotiations between England and Spain. This also explains the relatively high profile of English and Spanish news in the newspapers of the Low Countries. The fact that all the newspapers adapted their news networks to these temporary developments in political affairs demonstrates both the effectiveness and adaptability of the postal-based newswriting system, and the extent to which all the editors shared common perceptions of what news was important.

These shorter-term considerations could have longer-term influence. For Verhoeven, the marriage negotiations put England on the map. In Berlin, Widow Frischmann's editor did not subscribe to news from Brussels before 1623—in the 43 issues extant from the years 1617–1622, only two reports from Brussels are to be found—but from 1623 until mid-1625 Brussels was one of her less prominent regular sources, primarily providing news of the Dunkirkers and of the siege of Breda. Similarly, Meyer's use of news from Brussels and Antwerp was considerably increased after 1623, with longer-term effects.

Having considered the similarities, a brief look at the differences between these newspapers is in order. The clearest distinction is between the newspapers printed in German and those printed in Dutch. Occasional reports in the German press seldom came from beyond the German language area (taken to include the landward United Provinces), and by far the most came from Germany itself. The newspapers of Antwerp and Amsterdam, by contrast, printed occasional reports from England, Spain and France much more often. Janszoon was the only newspaper publisher to produce reports direct from Denmark, a natural consequence of Dutch dominance of the Baltic trade. German editors received Danish news via Hamburg, Verhoeven in reports from Amsterdam. Curiously, the Hamburg *Zeitungen* contained no news from

29 Paul Ries, 'Der Inhalt der Wochenzeitungen von 1609', *Presse und Geschichte*, 2 (1987), pp. 115, 119.

TABLE 3 Newspapers compared for the sample year 1623, abbreviated per title.

	NT	TVQ	REG	WZF	WZMO	NUZ	AAB
Place of publication	Antwerp	Amsterdam	Strasbourg	Frankfurt	Hamburg	Zürich	Berlin
Proprietor	Verhoeven	Janszoon	Carolus	Birghden	Meyer	Wolf	Frischmann
Profession	Bookseller	Printer/ newswriter	Bookseller	Postmaster	Carrier/ newswriter	Bookseller	Postmaster
Dates of publication	1620–1629	1618–1655	1609–1682	1615–1690	1618–1678	1623–1671	1617–1691
Number of issues surviving from 1623 (original total)	99 (141)	13 (52)	25 (52)	39 (52)	40 (52)	4 (52)	11 (52)
Total number of reports in surviving issues from 1623	387	203	379	437	594	48	203
Average reports/ week	c. 11	15.5	15	11	15	12	18.5
Number of sources	81	70	68	65	100	21	59

Main sources (+number of reports)						
Cologne (35)	Vienna (17)	Prague (38)	Cologne (47)	Vienna (66)	Cologne (5)	Cologne (23)
Prague (29)	Prague (13)	Vienna (34)	Amsterdam (46)	Prague (62)	The Hague (4)	Amsterdam (22)
Vienna (29)	Rome (13)	Cologne (33)	Prague (40)	Amsterdam (45)	Lyon (4)	Vienna (19)
Rome (28)	Venice (13)	Amsterdam (27)	Vienna (40)	Venice (41)	Prague (4)	The Hague (14)
Venice (28)	Cologne (12)	The Hague (23)	Venice (38)	Cologne (40)	Regensburg (4)	Prague (13)
Amsterdam (26)	Breslau (9)	Regensburg (22)	Rome (34)	The Hague (38)	Rome (4)	Rome (11)
The Hague (16)	England (8)	Venice (19)	The Hague (33)	Rome (36)	Venice (4)	Venice (10)
Dunkirk (15)	The Hague (6)	Rome (18)	Brussels (25)	Breslau (24)	Bremen (2)	Bremen (9)
Regensburg (13)	Spain (6)	Brussels (15)	Lyon (10)	Regensburg (24)	Graubünden (2)	Brussels (8)
England (10)	Brussels (5)	Frankfurt (14)	Regensburg (10)	Frankfurt (16)	Frankfurt (2)	
Seville (10)		Leipzig (13)		Brussels (14)	Leipzig (2)	
		Breslau (11)		Lyon (13)		
		Lyon (11)		Antwerp (10)		
				Leipzig (10)		

Denmark, despite—or perhaps because of—the prominence of Christian IV in regional politics. The international postal system of northern Europe was still under-developed: Hamburg was the northern terminus of the regular postal systems of the Empire, and the royal posts of Denmark and Sweden had yet to undergo the reforms which would make them an integrated part of the European network.<sup>30</sup> Meyer was the only editor outside London to make more than very occasional use of reports from Antwerp as well as Brussels. Leipzig, although it was to be one of the most important news centres of the middle decades of the century, was in 1623 only a source—and not a leading one at that—for the newspapers of Hamburg, Strasbourg and Zürich.

Most interesting from our point of view are the differences within the Netherlands. Two weeks for which full comparison is possible between the *Tijdinghen* of Janszoon and of Verhoeven (the first full week of February and the first week of October) show that Verhoeven, although charging double what was usual in Amsterdam and using four times as much paper, did not provide more reports than Janszoon (13 to Janszoon's 14 in February, and 9 to 15 in October). Not only that, but there was a considerable time-lag between the reports, Janszoon's reports from Vienna and Prague being a fortnight more recent than Verhoeven's, and his other news a few days more recent. Comparable reports from other weeks also show that it was not unusual for the news to be in print in Amsterdam a few days before it was in print in Antwerp. This was almost invariably the case for reports that would have to come through Frankfurt.

Three factors may have contributed to Verhoeven's relative slowness. The first was production rhythm: Janszoon's day of publication was Tuesday, Verhoeven's was Friday, so when comparing the news in single weeks there is a built-in three-day gap. The second was censorship: there is no evidence that Janszoon's gazette was censored by the States of Holland, the Magistrates of Amsterdam, or any other body: Amsterdam only formally introduced newspaper regulation in 1656, three years after Janszoon's death.<sup>31</sup> Verhoeven, in contrast, supposedly had each issue looked over by a cathedral canon to be sure that it contained nothing contrary to faith and morals. This may have been a mere formality dealt with in a few minutes, but it seems more likely that Verhoeven was expected to have a draft or proofs of each issue ready at least two days before publication was due. Verhoeven would also have found it difficult to incorporate stop-press news if any changes needed ecclesiastical

30 Denmark's posts were reformed by royal order of 26 December 1624; Sweden's in 1635 and 1640: Paul Ries, 'The Anatomy of a Seventeenth-century Newspaper', *Daphnis* 6 (1977), p. 203; Otto Sylwan, *Svenska Pressens Historia till Statshvålfningen 1772* (Lund, 1896), p. 29.

31 Schneider & Hemels, *Nederlandse krant*, p. 47.



approval, although on at least one occasion a report was inserted after the censor's mark.<sup>32</sup> The third possible factor redounds to Verhoeven's journalistic credit: it seems possible that at least some of the time he waited for confirmation before printing stories, even though he was often quite explicit about printing what was being credibly reported rather than what could be ascertained to be true. This was certainly the case with news of Buckingham's murder in 1628, when Richard Verstegan waited over a week for confirmation before the story was run.<sup>33</sup>

On the whole, it would seem that Janszoon printed more news at lower cost than Verhoeven, sometimes far faster. Only the accuracy of his reports left something to be desired, one even giving an account of the formal betrothal of Charles and Maria in Spain. No error of such magnitude has been found among Verhoeven's reports after 1621. We should not conclude that the Dutch editors were necessarily less able or less scrupulous. The Amsterdam practice of printing news above and below a line seems to have been a deliberate attempt to separate confirmed reports above the line from less certain, in-coming reports below.

The reports from Cologne printed in the Netherlands and those printed in Germany, although emanating from the same city, could be quite different. A substantial amount of the coverage of the war in the Rhineland was the same in each case, but more generally Cologne was the point of interchange between the German and Netherlandish communications systems: in the Netherlands it was the main source for news from Germany; in Germany, one of the main sources for news from the Netherlands, including news from Spain and England transmitted through the Netherlands. Rumours which in the Netherlands were falsified before they made it into print—such as the story that Spinola had departed for Spain to accompany the Infanta Maria to England—were transmitted into Germany from Cologne.<sup>34</sup>

On another occasion, Verhoeven reported that the Zeelanders were putting out the rumour that James I had died and Charles I been murdered, and were drinking healths to Frederick of the Palatinate, now heir apparent to the English throne in his wife's right. The same rumour, before and after its disavowal, was printed in Frankfurt as news from Brussels and in Strasbourg as

32 Seville (5 October), *NT* 1623 no. 132 (10 November).

33 *NT* 1628 no. 107 (27 September); for the delay in confirmation see the letter cited above, p. 93 note 75.

34 'Von Antorff verlaut, der Marquis Spinola sey mit der Post nach Spannien verweist, die Spanische Braut nach Engellant zu Convoyeren', news from Cologne, 7 Feb., in *WZMO* 1623 no. 6 (n.d.).

news from Cologne.<sup>35</sup> With less evidence of scepticism, von den Birghden picked up and reproduced Janszoon's reports about the abduction of forty Antwerp pleasure-trippers from before the walls of the city by freebooters from Bergen op Zoom on the Feast of St John in May, and the mutinying of the garrison of 's-Hertogenbosch, although neither story was true and Verhoeven had already printed contradictions with trenchant commentary on Janszoon's reliability.<sup>36</sup>

Uncritical reprinting of Dutch reports was something of a problem in Germany, where the English habit of grudgingly checking news from Amsterdam against news from Antwerp does not seem to have been widespread. The Cologne *Wochentliche Niderländische Postzeitungen* and von den Birghden's Protestant bias would probably in themselves have been sufficient for the Dutch versions of events, even when quite far off target, to dominate German coverage of the affairs of the Low Countries. The Frankfurt paper had, for instance, a clear influence on the Hamburg *Wochentliche Zeitungen auß Mehreley Örther*—the versions of reports from France and Italy printed by Meyer (a civic carrier) were often word-for-word the same as von den Birghden's, suggesting some reliance on Frankfurt's mediation for translations.

Verhoeven expressed a low opinion of their accuracy, but the Amsterdam newspapers were still the main source for the English corantos, although Thomas Gainsford, editor of one London coranto series, showed a caution similar to Verstegan's in checking reports from Amsterdam and Antwerp against one another, although taking account of his readers' clear preference for what they heard from Amsterdam.<sup>37</sup> Reliance on foreign newspapers for the bulk of reports was in any case unavoidable, as England's royal posts were neither public nor regular, instead relying on a system of council warrants for individual messages (the bearer of which would also carry whatever other post had accumulated at the post office for destinations that he was to pass), and most provincial institutions and noble houses relied on carters and carriers.<sup>38</sup> For many purposes it was not an ineffective system, but it did not have the regularity or the international reach to support newspaper publication independent of the Tassis posts through Antwerp and Dover. The reform of the royal posts initiated by the Postmaster for Foreign Parts in 1632 would have

35 WZF 1623 no. 11; RFGH 1623 no. 11.

36 Amsterdam (21 June), WZF 1623 no. 27; The Hague (6 October), WZF 1623 no. 42.

37 Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 134–136.

38 J. Crofts, *Packhorse*, *passim*.

allowed less directly derivative journalism in England, had newspaper publication not been banned by royal order in that year.<sup>39</sup>

It was in a volatile atmosphere of public outrage in England that the very first newspapers in English were printed in Amsterdam in 1620.<sup>40</sup> James I's daughter, Elizabeth of the Palatinate, was at the centre of the storm erupting in Germany, and it was the patrimony of her children that Spinola's armies were overrunning in the Rhineland. One of James's chaplains, Thomas Scott, wrote a vitriolic pamphlet attributing James's inaction to the captivating wiles of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador: *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne, translated according to the Spanish coppie: which may serve to forwarn both England, and the United Provinces, how farre to trust to Spanish Pretences*. The pamphlet was suppressed and the author fled to the Netherlands.

On 1 May 1621 a Catholic lawyer, Edward Floyde, was impeached before the House of Commons on the charge that he:

concerning the most illustrious princess the lady Elizabeth, only daughter of our said sovereign lord, and the most excellent prince her husband, did use and utter, openly and publicly, false, malicious and spiteful speeches, of the said two princes; saying in this manner, 'I have heard, that Prague is taken; and Goodman Palsgrave and Goodwife Palsgrave have taken their heels, and run away; and as I have heard, Goodwife Palsgrave is taken prisoner;' and that these words were spoken by him in most spiteful and scornful manner, with a fleering and scoffing countenance, and with a purpose to disgrace, as much as in him lay, those two princes; and that at other times he did, in like spiteful and reproachful manner, use other malicious and opprobrious words of them.<sup>41</sup>

The offence had been committed while Floyde was a prisoner in the Fleet in December 1620, in conversations both with fellow prisoners and with a clergyman who came to the prison to preach. The sentence was that he be pilloried in the great yard at Westminster for two hours, 'with a paper upon his hat, with this inscription: For false, malicious and spiteful speeches against the King's Daughter, and her Husband', then ridden backwards on a horse to the Exchange, and there pilloried for another two hours, and after a night in the Fleet prison

39 J. Greenwood, *Newspapers and the Post Office* (1971), pages unnumbered.

40 *STC*, 2nd ed., 18507.1–28.

41 William Cobbett (ed.), *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors*, vol. 2 (London, 1809), coll. 1153–1160.

be pilloried at Cheapside for another 2 hours, and fined a thousand pounds. This led to a minor constitutional crisis, the House of Lords taking the view that the House of Commons had no authority to impeach private individuals, and insisting on a retrial. Accordingly, a few days later, Floyd was tried before the House of Lords, and the sentence was increased to include being stripped of the rank of gentleman, fined five thousand pounds, and life imprisonment in Newgate.

This was the public atmosphere in which the licensing of newspapers in London was begun. It seems to have been motivated by a desire to monitor the ideological content of the news and prevent the monopolisation of 'publicity' by the Dutch and their most fervent English admirers. The same desire explains the appointment of the known Hispanophile Francis Cottington as coranto licenser in October 1621.<sup>42</sup> The English authorities would seem to have had quite a specific press policy in 1621–23, the highpoint of the marriage negotiations: the news was to be fundamentally Protestant, but tempered by respect for Catholic perspectives. A fluid partnership of Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, Thomas Archer, William Sheffard and Bartholomew Downes published three coranto series from September 1621 to December 1624, various combinations of the names appearing on various issues. The first series was unnumbered.<sup>43</sup> The next, the first series of numbered and dated newspapers printed in England, began publication on 15 October 1622 and ran for 50 issues to 2 October 1623; it had no running title, but will for convenience be referred to as the *Weekly Newes* (part of the title of a number of issues).<sup>44</sup> A second series began publication on 11 October 1623 and ran for 43 issues, ending on 4 December 1624.<sup>45</sup> Thereafter Butter and Bourne formed a fixed partnership publishing one coranto series which ran to 1632, while Thomas Archer published a competing series until 1628.<sup>46</sup>

It has not been possible to consult the *Weekly Newes* as a series (few copies are to be found in the repositories consulted), but a few issues have been considered. The very first issue (15 Oct. 1622), headlined 'A Relation of the late Occurents which have happened in Christendome', contained a 'Copie of Newes translated out of the High Dutch', a newspaper from Cologne or Frankfurt to judge from the chronological and geographic spread of the

42 Michael Frearson, 'London Corantos in the 1620s', in *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History Annual*, 1993, pp. 11–14.

43 *STC*, 2nd ed., 18507.29–81.

44 *STC*, 2nd ed., 18507.82–129.

45 *STC*, 2nd ed., 18507.130–158.

46 Folke Dahl, *Bibliography of English Corantos*, pp. 266–278.

reports, followed by a collection of other recent newsletters. Both the 'High Dutch Relation' and the separate letters included reports from Rome, Vienna and Antwerp. The reports from Rome and Vienna mediated through a German newspaper were both more recent than those sent direct to London by post, but the letter from Antwerp was a fortnight more recent than the Antwerp report translated out of German—which suggests that for news from more distant cities there were sound structural reasons for relying more on newspapers in Dutch and German than on direct correspondence. The reliance on Low Countries newspapers, in particular, meant that English coranto publishers could piggy-back on the extensive news networks centred on Antwerp and Amsterdam, including news from the full range of German and Dutch-language news centres as well as from the major sources elsewhere—Paris, Lyon, Madrid, Rome, Venice, Constantinople—at considerably lower cost than Continental newspaper editors and newswriters were put to.

One thing that is very clear from all this is that the places of news printing were only a small proportion of the places of news exchange. Before 1631 newspaper printing was, beyond London, limited to those parts of Europe where some variant of High or Low German was the language of commerce. Venice and Rome, two of the most important newswriting centres, were not to have printed newspapers for decades to come. As has been mentioned elsewhere, this was not a sign of any lack of 'publicity': newswriting and pamphleteering both thrived in Italy well before newspapers began to be printed anywhere, as did commercial journalism in the form of such series as the Florentine *Listra de cambi et mercantie*, which for 1623 shows trading and information links with Lyon, Antwerp, Seville, Cordoba, Segovia and Toledo, besides numerous Italian cities.<sup>47</sup> The importance of Italian newswriters as sources for northern newspaper editors, and the breadth of the news they covered, belies any lack of awareness of the possibilities of newspaper publication. The international ties of the book trade also led to foreign pamphlets being reprinted in Italy, for instance Prince Charles's journey to Madrid appearing in Palermo, or Dutch successes in Brazil publicised in Venice.<sup>48</sup>

Even Spain, peripheral as an area of newswriting, was fully part of the European market of news readers. The diary of Girolamo de Sommaia, a Florentine student at Salamanca, shows that newsletters and pamphlets from across Western Europe (including Ireland and Poland) circulated among the

47 Ugo Bellocchi, *Storia del giornalismo italiano*, vol. 2, p. 37.

48 *Vera relatione del viaggio fatto dal Prencipe di Gales* (Naples & Palermo, G.-B. Maringo, 1623); *Relatione Dell' Acquisito fatto dall' armata holandese* (Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1624).

academics and the wealthier students, who sometimes paid poorer students to translate them.<sup>49</sup> The Spanish picture is complicated by the unusual genre of the printed newsletter, bearing the name of newswriter and patron. *Relacion de Andres de Mendoza, Capitulaciones de los señores Marqueses de Toral, y boda del señor Condestable de Castilla, mascara, y acompañamiento de su Magestad. A la Condesa de Olivares mi señora guarde Dios* (Madrid, Bernardino de Guzman, n.d. [1623]), is still recognizably a news publication; without actually reading the sheets, titles like *A Doña Vitoria Colona, Duquesa de Medina de Rioseco, mi señora, guarde Dios*,<sup>50</sup> are not so readily identifiable as such. Perhaps, like theatrical companies in England, news publications in Spain were considered safer under the patronage of great lords. Even so, it was only in 1627 that prior licensing was formally extended from books to 'letters and relations, apologies and panegyrics, gazettes and news sheets, sermons, discourses and papers on affairs of state and government, [...] arbitrios, verses, dialogues or anything else, even if short and of very few lines'.<sup>51</sup>

The newswriter Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza seems to have made considerable use of print to extend the market for his correspondence.<sup>52</sup> Unlike printed newspapers elsewhere in Europe, Spanish newsletters appear to have been largely concerned with domestic politics, but did glance at foreign affairs. A set of newsletters attributed to Andrés de Mendoza was printed as an unperiodic numbered series, under such titles as *Copia de una carta, que escrivio un señor desta Corte a un su amigo* (dated 13 April 1621), *Carta segunda, que escrivio un Cavallero desta Corte a un su amigo* (dated 16 May 1621), *Sexta carta* (22 October 1621), and *Nuevas generales* (18 March 1622). In all, the series comprised fifteen or sixteen letters, all of which have been attributed to Andrés de Mendoza, and was followed by a second series in 1623–1626.<sup>53</sup> The main interest of these letters was in the ceremonies and appointments at court after the

49 Fernando Jimenez, 'La circulacion de gacetas y otros papeles de noticias, en Salamanca, a principios del siglo XVII', *Salamanca Revista Provincial de Estudios* 14 (1984), pp. 17–30. I am grateful to Andrew Hegarty for this reference.

50 n.p.d. (letter dated Madrid, 19 April 1623).

51 Proclamation of 13 June 1627, quoted in Elliott, *Count-Duke*, p. 307.

52 See Henry Ettinghausen, 'La labor "periodistica" de Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza', in *Las relaciones de sucesos en España*, edited by M.C. García de Enterría et al. (Alcalá de Henares & Paris, 1996), pp. 123–132.

53 Ettinghausen, 'La labor', p. 124; Henry Ettinghausen, 'The Greatest Story Since the Resurrection? Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza's Coverage of Prince Charles's Spanish Trip', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, edited by Alexander Samson (Aldershot & Burlington VT, 2006), pp. 75–89; only the first six *cartas* and the *Nuevas generales*, copies of which survive in KBB, have been consulted.

death of Philip III and Lerma's fall from favour, but foreign news was also included. Spain's further integration into the European system may have been encouraged by the Prince of Wales's visit in 1623. But the same events very well illustrate the peninsula's peripheral position: while foreign newspapers printed reports concerning the Match both before and after the Prince's visit, only accounts of the visit itself were printed in the peninsula, and for more details Spanish readers would have to obtain manuscript newsletters or foreign newspapers.<sup>54</sup>

Newspaper printing was still, then, very much a Germanic business in 1623, but the regular printing of news should not be confounded with the wider culture of news exchange. Entrepreneurs in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Low Countries and England identified a market for printed copies of the news of Europe, but this same news was circulated in other ways in other parts of the wider news community.

### Types of News in 1623

Having examined the broad outlines of news provision and news printing in Western Europe in 1623, let us now turn to the stories actually covered. Just as the preceding paragraphs set out the structures by which news was circulated, the following will examine the more abstract structures of the culture of newswriting according to which events were considered newsworthy. The text itself will detail what kinds of event were considered news, while the footnotes will contain specific examples of coverage, showing the words and phrases in which the news was expressed. Hopefully this will provide a sufficient impression of the variety of news, without breaking up the narrative unduly.

As was mentioned in chapter two, the recording of great public events was a tradition of the almanac chronicle. Newspapers printed exactly the same types of story: the dynastic, the political, the military, the civic, the economic and the prodigious. Marvels and stories that might be seen as 'human interest' were printed when they arose, but they were very far from being the staple of newspaper reporting, and made up a tiny proportion of the reports. In 1623 such stories included the lake at Winterthur turned 'blood red' for a full day, from dawn till dusk—the fact was reported, and it was clearly a 'sign', but journalistic speculation did not stretch to an interpretation beyond 'what it means

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54 Ettinghausen, 'Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister', pp. 4, 13.

time will tell'.<sup>55</sup> Even when such phenomena were described in lurid terms, their causes could be discussed in a soberly scientific manner.<sup>56</sup> Another 'terrible wonder-sign' took place in Eberstadt at the end of July: a church door and a tree were suddenly and inexplicably covered in blood, which Landgrave Ludwig himself inspected 'and recognised as blood'. Yet again, it clearly meant something, but 'What it means is known to God'.<sup>57</sup> However much such stories may be of interest to illuminate a mentality which would expect or accept such news,<sup>58</sup> they were not what sold newspapers week after week, and Forteanism of this sort was a spice only very rarely added to the meat of current-affairs reporting.

### *Politics, Law and Government*

Political news and news of those in power made up a substantial proportion of the news printed. This news could be divided into three categories: courtly news (including diplomatic news), in which newswriters tried to guess at political intentions from the outward manifestations of ceremonial and movement; less opaque political news, of the kind provided by a representative assembly or a synod, which followed a fixed pattern of proposition, debate and conclusion; and legal news, reporting the publication of proclamations, arrests and sentences, or public executions.

The purely dynastic affairs of Europe's great families were always of interest to newswriters. Pregnancies, births and baptisms,<sup>59</sup> deaths and funerals,<sup>60</sup>

55 Venice (5 May), *RFGH* no. 21 & *WZF* no. 20, 'was es bedeut gibt die zeit'.

56 See e.g. *Relation Vritable de la pluye de sang* (Paris, 1646), and Jean-Jacques Chifflet's *De causis naturalibus pluviae purpureae* (Brussels, 1648), which attribute 'blood-like' rain-drops to industrial water pollution.

57 'schricklijck wondertheycken [...] ende voor bloedt erkent [...]. Wattet beduyt, weet Godt'. Darmstadt (2 Aug.), *TVQ* 12 Aug.

58 See e.g. Roger Chartier, 'The Hanged Woman Miraculously Saved', in *Culture of Print*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 59–91.

59 E.g. 'De sprake gaet hier voorseker als dat onse Coninginne die Godt beware swanger is', Madrid (July), *NT* no. 102 (25 Aug.); 'Voordts wordt oock gheschreven dat den Hertoch van Richemond, ende den Hertoch van Bucquingam souden van Enghelandt naer Hollandt reysen, om den jonghen sone van den Palsgrave over de Vonte aldaer te heffen', England (n.d.), *NT* no. 131 (10 Nov.).

60 'De Begraeffnisse der Keur-Vorstelijcke Weduwe sal haest ghedaen worden', Prague (n.d.), *NT* no. 32 (17 March); 'Von Rohm nichts, als daß der Cardinal Mandalto gestorben, derwegen er der grossen Allmosen hoch beklagt' Venice (9 June), *WZMO* no. 25; 'Van Napels verstaetmen, dat den Marquis Paris Pinelli sonder kinderen achter te laten gestorven is', *NT* no. 125 (27 Oct.).



betrothals and weddings,<sup>61</sup> religious clothings and professions,<sup>62</sup> inheritances, elections and coronations<sup>63</sup>—all were covered by the newspapers, but such one-off events lent themselves more readily to special editions or occasional relations than to weekly reports. On the other hand, protracted marriage negotiations, or a disputed succession, stories that unfolded week by week, were ideal newspaper material, and in 1623 the Spanish Match and the succession crises of Marburg and Urbino provided both.

The public life of the court—appointments,<sup>64</sup> audiences,<sup>65</sup> banquets,<sup>66</sup> masques,<sup>67</sup> devotions,<sup>68</sup> hunting parties,<sup>69</sup> moves from one residence to another<sup>70</sup>—was a more reliable source of regular news, as there was always something happening. The only problem was that newswriters left behind when the court decamped might have to look for new sources to fill their letters. As one Viennese newswriter lamented: ‘While the Imperial Court is not

61 ‘[voor] de eenighe dochter van wijlen Heer Pauwels Doria erffgename van eenen Faculteyt van vier hondert maels duysent Croonen, is een houwelyck ghesloten’, Venice (n.d.), *NT* no. 72 (23 June); ‘men vermeynt een Houwelyck gesloten te zijn tusschen den Eertz-Hertoch Leopoldus...’, Vienna (Nov.), *NT* no. 141 (30 Dec.).

62 ‘Zu Madrill ist deß verstorbenen Käysers Rudolphi seligen Princessin auß Teutschland ankommen, so in das Königlich Barfüsser Kloster kommen wird’, Rome (11 Feb.), *RFGH* no. 10.

63 None in 1623.

64 ‘das oberste Hoffmeister Ambt [...] hat man dem Duca de Infantado, und das Oberste Stallmeister Ambt dem Conte Olivares gegeben’, Madrid (11 Jan.), *WZMO* no. 5.

65 ‘Sambstag nachmittags hat der Duca di Pastrano [...] bey der Bäpst. Heyl. das erstemahl audienz gehabt’, Rome (3 June), *WZF* no. 25.

66 ‘den Ambassadeur *Don Diego Mexia* [...] is ghenoot gheweest ende ghetracteert ten huysse van den *Duc de Boukingam*, [...] alwaer tot groote verwonderinghe van alle de wereldt zijn Majesteydt van Enghelandt selfs ter Bancquet is ghecomen’, London (10 Dec. 1623), *NT* 1624 no. 2 (5 January).

67 ‘Den 26. Februarij hat der König einen schönen Aufzug und Mascarada [...] allhie gehalten’. Madrid (1 March), *RFGH* no. 14.

68 ‘im Prediger Closter allhie [...] seyndt Sambstags ihre Churf. Durchleucht. in Beyern neben Chur Cölln dahin gefahren, die Predigt allda gehöret’, Regensburg (8 March), *WZMO* no. 11; ‘Donderdachs was de Kerckwijdinghe der Cappucijnen daer sijne Majesteydt was’, Vienna (Aug.), *NT* no. 112 (22 Sept.).

69 ‘Unser König erlustigt sich sehr mit dem jagen’, Lyon (2 July), *WZF* no. 29.; ‘Sonsten erlustigen sich Käys. Mayest. mit dero Gemählin und jungen Herrschafft je zu Laxenburg uff der Jagt’, Vienna (5 July), *WZMO* no. 29.

70 ‘Der König befindet ist noch zu S. Germain, die Königin aber zu Pariß’, Brussels (22 July), *WZF* no. 30; ‘Den Doorluchtighen Prince van Oragnien is noch in’s Graven-Haghe’, *TVQ* 6 Nov.

here, there is little to write'.<sup>71</sup> Some of this court reporting will have responded to a desire to hear about the life-style of the great, but there were also practical reasons for this interest. In a courtly society, knowing the tastes of influential figures, where they could currently be found, and whether there was anything to congratulate them on, would have been news of interest to bankers, merchants, suitors and civic delegations.

However, court news was also of a more general political importance. The discussions that determined princely policy, taking place in council chambers and diplomatic correspondence rather than in public debate or audience, were not as a rule accessible to newswriters.<sup>72</sup> In providing maxims of statecraft for the young 'statist', the English anti-Machiavellian writer Thomas Fitzherbert (who had served Marie de Medicis and been an intelligence agent for the Duke of Feria, before entering the Society of Jesus and becoming vice-provincial of the English Jesuits in Flanders) insisted that 'nothing is more necessarie in handling matters of state then secrecie [...] which is not to communicat any important matter of state, to any man whosoever, except he be to be employed, or his counsel to be used therin'.<sup>73</sup> This definition of a 'need to know basis' emphasized secrecy, but also that over-obsessive secrecy could be self-defeating. The results of not taking into confidence those whose counsel was to be used, could be embarrassing or worse:

I knew a counsellour, who being commanded by his prince to give him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance & secrecy, thought to informe himselfe of some circumstances so cunninglie, that his meaning should not be so much as guessed at: but the partie with whome he treated being of an excellent judgment, presentlie understood it, and though he answered him to his great satisfaction, yet not thinking himselfe any way bound to secrecie (for that the counsellour neither had

71 'Weiln der Kays. Hoff nicht alhie, ist wenig zu schreiben'. Vienna (2 March), *WZF* no. 11. This provides another example of how courtly reporting eclipsed other forms of news, even in a great commercial centre—as courtly culture did the civil more generally (see Ferdinand Opll, 'The Vienna Example', in *Cities and the Transmission of Cultural Values* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 121–135.

72 See 'Règles concernant le secret des délibérations des cours et conseils' (Mariemont, 6 July 1611), in *ROPB. Règne d'Albert et Isabelle*, ed. Victor Brants, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1912), pp. 101–102.

73 Thomas Fitzherbert, *The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy and Religion* (2nd ed., 1615; facsimile reprint *English Recusant Literature 175, 1974*), chap. 29, para. 27. On Fitzherbert, see Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 2 (Manresa Press, 1875), pp. 198–229.

taken his oath, nor his worde, nor had shewed any confidence in him for that matter) he wrote it to a great personage, with whome he had correspondence, by which meanes it was with in a month after so publike that it came into the gazetta of Rome, and from thence was published throughout Christendome [...]<sup>74</sup>

Without such unintended or deliberate leaks, newswriters could often report the movements of couriers and diplomats, but nothing substantial about their mission. As was reported of one diplomatic courier, 'nothing can be discovered of the contents of the letters he has brought', or of the Prince of Condé's mission to Rome, that he had 'had audience, but for what Reasons is still unknown'.<sup>75</sup> Although despatches and negotiations might be secret, the movement of ambassadors was public, and who had been sent where was reported, even when it was not known on what business. This would seem to have been the butt of Ben Jonson's lines about 'posts' (meaning government couriers), in the masque *Neptunes Triumph* (first performed 6 January 1624), deriding those who:

relish nothing, but di stato [...] talke of the affaires [...] that are afoot [...] What correspondences are held; the Posts That go, & come, and know, almost, their minutes, All but their businesse.<sup>76</sup>

But public information was always a basis on which to speculate about the unknown, and newswriters were far from unwilling to add informed guesswork to their reports. Thus when the Infanta Isabella sent Ferdinand de Boisshot, Baron of Zaventem, to England as an ambassador extraordinary early in 1623 there was press speculation that his mission might relate to the marriage negotiations between Spain and England, to the restitution of Ormuz (seized from the Portuguese the previous year by an Anglo-Persian fleet), or to the raising of companies for the Army of Flanders,<sup>77</sup> when in fact it concerned the surrender of Frankenthal and the ceasefire in the Palatinate.<sup>78</sup>

74 Op. cit., chap. 30, para. 19.

75 'men en can vanden innehoudt van zijne medeghebrochte Brieven niet vernemen', Prague (15 April), *NT* no. 56 (10 May); 'Den Prince van Condé by zijne Heylichey gheweest ende Audientie ghehad, om wat Redenen is noch onbekent', Rome (Jan.), *NT* no. 15 (10 Feb.).

76 Quoted in Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 33.

77 E.g. in *TVQ* 21 March.

78 *CCE* vol. 2, p. 125. I am grateful to Roberta Anderson for her comments on this point.

Only when an official statement was made was there any real certainty about what had been decided, and proclamations, propositions, declarations, treaties, leagues and manifestoes were often quoted at length or printed in their entirety by the newspapers, sometimes even with commentary. In the absence of such certainty, the court's public ceremonial came to serve as an indirect indicator of the political intentions to which journalists were not privy. The appointment of Olivares as master of horse; the emperor hunting and dining with the prince of Anhalt; the personal attendance of the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg at the dowager electress of Saxony's funeral in Dresden rather than at the *Deputationstag* in Regensburg: all these were seen as significant, although quite what they signified was seldom stated explicitly.

Sometimes there were leaks in the wall of silence, as in the report that, even though negotiations between the Austrian archdukes and their brother the emperor were secret, they were understood to relate to a partition of the Austrian lands and a marriage for the Archduke Leopold.<sup>79</sup> The worst example of such leakage was the conclave of cardinals: despite the greatest secrecy, newspapers were seldom unable to give the results of the latest ballot.<sup>80</sup>

The combination of courtly lifestyle and political gossip often went hand in hand, as in Verhoeven's report of the banquet which James I gave for the Spanish ambassadors in July 1623. This included such details as one ambassador's coloured worsted suit with gold braid, the Banqueting House in Whitehall hung with tapestries designed by Raphael, but also the information that Marquis Hamilton served as chamberlain, since the puritanly affected Earl of Pembroke was sick, or feigning sickness.<sup>81</sup> The reference to tapestries is one of several hints, scattered across the decade, which suggest that Verhoeven,

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79 Vienna (Nov.), *NT* no. 141 (30 Dec.).

80 'Men zeyt alhier daer zouden zes ghenomineert zijn om Paus te wesen, Te weten, de Doorluchtige Heeren Cardinalen, *Bandini, Boromeo, Barberini, Sauli, Ubaldini, Scaglia*', Venice (14 July), *NT* no. 88 (2 August); followed by news that in the latest rounds of voting Cardinal Bandino had received 24 votes, Cardinal Messino 28 and Cardinal Borromeo 34; Rome (29 July), *WZF* no. 33.

81 'behanghen met de Costelijckste Tapijten wesende, die daer de Patroonen aff ghenomen heeft den vermaerden Schilder Raffael Orbino [...] ende eenen berg van andere stucken van conste van diveersche rareteyt'; 'eer sy ginghen sitten bracht den Marquis Hambelton [...] bedienden het officie vanden oppersten Camerlinck, alsoo [...] den G. Pembroeck sieck is, oft als sommighe presumeren alsoo fingeert door dien hy seer puritaens gesient is' (*NT* no. 101, 26 Aug.).

working in a city in which painting and printmaking were big business, and in a country renowned for its tapestries, was particularly sensitive to such details of art and antiquities.

At other times the courtly 'lifestyle' element in reporting obliterated the main point of the action, as when the Emperor's solemn reception in Prague's Jewish town was seen in terms of the expense of the procession and the outlandish traditional costumes of the participants.<sup>82</sup> Although the story was widely covered, not one editor mentioned or hinted that the expensive show of loyalty was at least in part intended to avert the Emperor's confessionalising zeal, already spilling over from his Protestant subjects to the Jews of Vienna. There were also reports that the Jews of Prague were reinforcing the walls of the ghetto, but rather than a sensible reaction to the general insecurity caused by the collapse of the currency, this was reported solely in terms of it pushing up the price of builders for Wallenstein's palatial building projects.<sup>83</sup> Even the Spanish Articles of Reformation, the sort of pronouncement which gave newswriters certainty about a government's intentions, were reduced to a fashion statement.<sup>84</sup> Rather than considering the full programme of social and economic reform envisaged, newswriters fixated on the sumptuary legislation against lace ruffs: 'the abolition of the great ruffs has not been taken well in Spain';<sup>85</sup> 'Today the ruffs and lace cuffs were put away, which gives the Spaniards an unusual appearance, and some even look odd and unsightly';<sup>86</sup> In England, and possibly in now-lost Amsterdam and Antwerp issues, the Articles of Reformation were reported rather more sensibly: 'the King [...] hath proceeded very nobly in divers reformations, and set downe especiall ordinances for the augmentation of his owne honour and detention of the Subject in modest rules of duty and observation'.<sup>87</sup>

82 'de welcke eenighe duysenden Rijcxdaelders heeft ghecost, welcke Processie vele vande Principaelste Vorsten ende Heeren van t'Hof hebben gesien', Prague (n.d.), *NT* no. 59 (19 May).

83 Prague (25 July), *AAB* no. 31; *WZF* no. 31.

84 On this edict, see Elliott, *Count-Duke*, pp. 146–147.

85 'die abschaffung der grossen Krägen haben die Spanier nicht am besten auffgenommen', Madrid (18 Feb.), *RFGH* no. 11. 'Daer syn Placcaten den 11. Februarij alhier wtghegeven, om de groote Cragen af te schaffen, het welcke de Spaengaerts niet ten besten opghenomen en hebben, dit is in druck wtghegaen', Madrid (18 Feb.), Arnhem no. 13 (27 March).

86 'Heut hat man die Krägen und spitzen Überschläg abgelegt, welches den Spaniern gar frembd vor kompt, und etliche gar ungestalt und heßlich außsehen', Madrid (1 March), *RFGH* no. 14. With thanks to Nicole Stoermer for her help with the translation.

87 Unnumbered special issue entitled *New Survey of the Affaires of Europe*, p. 19.

Like the proceedings of royal government, the proceedings of courts of justice were generally hidden from the public gaze. Executions were naturally public events which newswriters seem to have mentioned as a matter of course. Arrests (in the English sense), the offering of rewards for dangerous criminals, and the final sentences of the court were also matters of public record that could sometimes find their way into the papers, but only very seldom did. But unlike the minutiae of royalty, the details of judicial pronouncements were not of great interest to newspaper editors. On the whole, law reports were only of interest to journalists in so far as they dealt with trials of state, as with the Arminian conspirators in Holland who were charged with plotting to assassinate Maurice of Nassau,<sup>88</sup> horrific crimes which might be considered 'prodigies' (such as the wife of one of Mansfeld's officers executed for adultery without due process),<sup>89</sup> the commission or punishment of crimes which threatened the security of trade routes and the posts (such as the execution in Faligno of those who had robbed and murdered the Venetian carrier),<sup>90</sup> or the somewhat exceptional case of those executed for their faith, like the 53 Christians crucified and burnt alive in Japan on a single day.<sup>91</sup> News of the Piedmontese bandits who sent the ears of their captives to encourage ransom payments falls into both the second and third category.<sup>92</sup>

One type of supposedly secret council that leaked even more than the conclave of cardinals was the representative assembly. News of parliaments and

88 Followed across Europe with great interest—one of the major news stories of the year not discussed below.

89 'een Overste onder de Grave van Mans-velt [...] heeft een Doot-kiste doen maecken, ende den Scherprechter ontboden, [...] syn Huys-vrouwe [...] is onthooft ende den selven nacht begraven. Hy beschuldichde haer van Hoererie ofte overspel: voorwaer een droevighe Tragedie'. *TVQ*, 12 Aug. The officer in question, Joachim von Carpzov, thereafter shunned by his fellows, was to have a long if modest afterlife in art and literature. See e.g. <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1896-A-19368-1731>.

90 'Ende tot Faligno een plaetse by de Venetianen sijn drye straetschenders oft Roovers geweest de welcke veel quaets, ende Moorden ghedaen hebben, ende den Ordinaris Courir van Venegien vermoort hebben, dese drye Roovers sijn ghevanghen gheworden, ende tot de Justitie ghebracht, sy werden eerst met gloeyende Tanghen ghenepen, ende daer naer ghevierendeelt, voorders den Buet diemen by de Roovers heeft ghevonden is de Coopliden weder gherestitueert...'. News from Rome in *NT* no. 10 (27 Jan.). Also reported in *TVQ*, 24 Jan.

91 'Tot *Miacum* inde Hooft-stadt van *Japan* zijn onlanckx op eenen dach dryenvijffich Christenen ghecruyst ende voorts levende ghebrandt', *NT* no. 34 (22 March), from an account printed in Lisbon.

92 Venice (5 June), *NT* no. 75 (30 June), p. 6.

estates was presented in terms of the give-and-take of grievances and subsidies, the burden of taxation and the purposes for which the money was intended. The style of coverage was very different from that of courts. The two modes, courtly and parliamentary, overlapped in imperial politics, as the princes of the Empire had courts and estates of their own, but in a *Reichstag*, *Deputationstag* or *Kreistag* were met in a manner similar to the lords temporal of the estates. Several such assemblies took place in 1623: the *Deputationstag* in Regensburg, assemblies of the Lower Saxon Circle at Brunswick and Jüterbog, sessions of the joint Estates of Silesia and Lusatia at Breslau, of Imperial Hungary at Pressburg (Bratislava), of Austria at Vienna, of the Kingdom of Naples at Naples. The most independently powerful such assembly, the States General of the United Provinces, by and large seems to have managed to keep its proceedings secret, or at least out of the newspapers. The Estates of Silesia, Austria and Hungary were all called to vote subsidies to pay for soldiers, as was that of Naples.<sup>93</sup>

In Breslau, the imperial commissioners requested the lords and deputies of the Estates of Silesia and Lusatia to provide a subsidy of 4 million (the unit of currency is not mentioned) and furthermore to maintain ten thousand men at their own expense for a year and a day, to defend Silesia from the forces of Bethlen Gabor and the Marquis of Jägerndorf. With reports that Mansfeld was intending to dash across Northern Germany to link up with Jägerndorf in Moravia, the Estates rapidly consented to three million.<sup>94</sup> A fortnight later came news of the terms of payment (half by Michaelmas, half in 1624), and on that occasion the three million was referred to as 'the sum requested', even though that had initially been four million in cash plus ten thousand men at the expense of the Estates.<sup>95</sup>

### *Military News*

The Estates of Silesia, Hungary, Austria and Bohemia were important not just locally, but internationally, since they were the Emperor's main source of funds for raising armies. Another source was the Jews of Prague and Vienna, on whom extra levies were imposed as part of the reconquest 'reformation' of Austria and Bohemia.<sup>96</sup> This final branch of state activity, the military,

93 'Het Coninck-Rijck van Napels geeft goetwillich den Hertoch van Alva haren Vice-Re, in name van Conincklijke Majesteyt van Spagnien in den tijt van dry Jaeren 2. Millioenen ende 600000. Ducaten', Madrid (July), *NT* no. 102 (25 August).

94 *NT* no. 38 (1 April), p. 6.

95 'de versochte somme', *NT* no. 47 (15 April).

96 Prague (11 March), *WZF* no. 12.

provided the greatest focus of journalistic interest throughout the Thirty Years' War. Once an initial stake had been voted, loaned or levied, forces could be mustered, which would then pay for themselves by requisitioning and levying 'contribution'.<sup>97</sup> The initial raising of troops was signalled by the beating of the drum, and the drums of war were seldom still for long. In 1623 they were to be heard in Flanders and Brabant in February, in Amsterdam and Mühlhausen in March, in Breslau and Cologne in May, in Holland in June, Groningen in July, Emmerick in August, Vienna in November.<sup>98</sup> The beating of a drum to raise recruits became journalistic shorthand wherever it was current practice. There were also troops raised without the journalistic cliché of the drumming (in Naples, Milan, France),<sup>99</sup> or raised beyond the edges of the newswriting community and only mentioned when they entered its confines (Cossacks, Croats, Danes).<sup>100</sup>

Once raised, troops had to be paid and fed, and details of arrangements for supply and contribution were given.<sup>101</sup> Disorders among the troops, making roads or towns unsafe,<sup>102</sup> were also a constant element in reporting, as was the safety of routes thought threatened.<sup>103</sup> The newspapers touched on such stories as Mansfeld's depredations in East Frisia,<sup>104</sup> the outrages committed by Saxe-Altenburg's soldiery in Erfurt,<sup>105</sup> and by Don Gonzalo de Córdoba's in the

97 For a more nuanced description of different methods of military contracting, see David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. pp. 101–136.

98 'So wird allhie die Trommel starck gerührt', Amsterdam (19 March), *RFGH* 13; 'tot Mulhuysen sterc de Trommel doen roeren', Erfurt, *TVQ* 21 March; 'At Breslaw in Silesia likewise were the drummes beaten up', *WN* no. 37 (26 June), p. 4, etc., to 'Voorts soo ruert men de Trommels in alle plaetsen van Oostenrijck', *NT* no. 141 (30 Dec.).

99 e.g. 'in Italia viel Volck geworben wird', Lyon (15 Jan.), *RFGH* no. 5.

100 e.g. 'Der Polnische Fürst Razivill ist allhie [...] von seiner Werbung hört man nichts', Prague (22 May), *RFGH* no. 23.

101 E.g. 'den Proviantmeester van sijne Excel. den Heere Graef van Tilly [...] heeft aen de Heeren van't Magistraet om provisie oft victaille aen ghehouden [...]', Hamburg (30 Sept.), *NT* no. 124 (27 Oct.).

102 'Sonsten seind nicht weit von hier, etliche Cöllnische Kauffleut grosses Guts beraubet worden', Frankfurt (22 April), *RFGH* no. 18.

103 'Unsere Leipziger wie auch die Güter sein Gott lob glücklich allhie', Augsburg (7 June), *RFGH* no. 24.

104 'Mansfelder ligt noch in OstFrießland, dessen Volck verderbt die Leut uberal', Amsterdam (27 Dec. 1622), *RFGH* 1623 no. 1.

105 'met plonderen ende roven hoe langhs hoe meer qualijck huys houden', Leipzig (22 Jan.), *TVQ* 7 Feb.



Lower Palatinate,<sup>106</sup> or Cossack pillaging in Moravia.<sup>107</sup> The punishment of ill discipline was also considered newsworthy.<sup>108</sup>

Movements of armies and units from place to place were reported in such interminable detail that no adequate impression can be given here. Most newsworthy of all were the columns moving up the Spanish Road, such as the 6000 foot and 7 companies of horse that set off from Milan for Flanders in the autumn of 1623,<sup>109</sup> but across the Empire soldiers of every stripe were constantly marching in all directions, and if a newswriter knew who was going where, he would pass the information on.<sup>110</sup> Sometimes the profusion of conflicting details could defeat the most determined attempt at collation: 'Reports of Halberstadt's movements are so various that nobody can make head or tail of them'.<sup>111</sup>

Finally, there were reports of the soldiers doing what they were raised for: fighting the enemy. Raids, ambushes, assaults, skirmishes, blockades and sieges were reported whenever they came to the attention of newswriters,<sup>112</sup> making better copy than the more frequent reports of mustering, marches, contribution and billeting. A pitched battle or major siege would be analysed exhaustively over a number of issues, the best example from 1623 being the battle of Stadtlohn, which will be discussed below. Specific details varied from paper to paper—according to different accounts of the battle, the Count of Thurn had

106 'the whole lands of Westphalia, Wast, Luke and Mark, lye exposed to the fury of the Souldiers, who spare not to spoile both friends and foes', *WN* special edition, 'New Survey of the Affaires of Europe', pp. 20–21.

107 'De Cosacken comporter en soo quaijck in Moravien dattet niet te zegghen en is', Prague (17 June), *NT* no. 81 (14 July).

108 E.g. 'Sijne Excell. houdt scherpe Justitie, hy heeft de 7. Ruyters, die in Delmenhorst moetwillichey hebben ghedaen, doen hanghen', Bremen (20 Sept.), *NT* no. 125 (27 Oct.).

109 'Van Mylanen zijn nu voorseecker vier Regimenten Spangiaerden ende Italiaenen, sterck ses duysent te voete met seven cornette Peerden gelicht, ende naer Vlaenderen ghemarcheert', Venice (27 Oct.), *TVQ* 13 November. Parker, *Army of Flanders*, p. 279, gives the official figures as 6858 foot and 393 horse.

110 'Des Oversten Schouwenberghs Regiment heeft verleden nacht int Ampt Kouden-Oortheym ghequartiert [...] Die van Bremen schrijven dat Monsieur Tilly sijn meeste volc int Lant van Hessen heeft ghelogeert, doch alle passagien tot zijn voordeel streckende, met sterc Garnisoen beset. Daeren teghen verthoont sich der Neder Saxischen Krijchs-volc aen de Elbe, Olde ende Kedingen', *TVQ* 20 Nov.

111 'Man schreibet vom Halberst. so unterschiedlich das sich niemand drein schicken noch richten kan', Regensburg (1 July), *AAB* no. 29.

112 'Grave *Esterhazy* [heeft] met vier hondert Peerden, twee hondert Turcken verslaghen ende neghen hondert Gevanghen', Vienna (6 Dec.), *NT* 141 (30 Dec.).

been injured, been shot through the neck, or been shot through both cheeks<sup>113</sup>—but there tended to be agreement on the general outline of events. A detailed military history of the Thirty Years' War could probably be reconstructed largely by cross-referencing the Dutch and German newspapers, with the necessary pinch of salt as to exact numbers and anything explicitly speculative.

The common soldiery usually elicited quite basic emotional responses such as fear, pity or contempt. The commanders, on the contrary, were the object of quite deliberate glorification or vilification. For example, Christian Duke of Brunswick, lay administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, was referred to as His Grace Christian, His Grace the Duke of Brunswick or Duke Christian in Amsterdam and Germany, and in Antwerp as 'Mad Halberstadt'.<sup>114</sup> The remarkable importance of titles to the 'spin' of otherwise identical news stories becomes apparent in the reports of Christian of Brunswick's activities: the first impression given by Verhoeven's reports is of a bandit chief rampaging across Germany, while Janszoon's present a paragon of Christian chivalry. Closer comparison of the reports shows the constant repetition of 'Mad Halberstadt' by the one, and of the rhetorically charged 'His Grace Christian' (rather than 'Brunswick', or 'Duke Christian'), by the other, to be the only substantive difference in the coverage.

An important element in Catholic coverage of land warfare was mercy in victory. Accordingly, after Stadtlohn the last of Verhoeven's issues devoted to the battle was about 'how and in what fashion those of Münster exercised their Charity to the wounded'.<sup>115</sup> The *Avisen auß Berlin* was more interested in the rapacity of the peasants than the charity of the citizens:

Count Tilly sent the artillery to Coesfeld yesterday and the day before, as well as having over a thousand prisoners and wounded convoyed to Münster, where they were relieved by the citizens with bread, partly bound up, and having abjured Duke Christian were dismissed, while several hundred from the battle passed through Osnabruck, so naked and

113 AAB no. 33; WZF no. 32; TVQ (12 August).

114 From July 1622—'zijne Vorstelijcke Genade den Dollen Halberstadt', NT 1622 no. 96 (1 July), also 'Dollen Halberstadt' or 'den Dollen Bisschop'.

115 'Waerachtighe Tijdinghe van Munster in westphalen. Met het Relaes van t'ghene aldaer ghehoort ende ghesien is, hoe ende in wat manieren die van Munster hun Caritate hebben ghedaen aen de ghequetsten. Ende hoe dat de Paters der Jesuyten, de Cappucijnen, ende andere Biddende Oorden sijn Wt de stadt ghecomen, met Wijn, Broot Vleesch ende Bier om alles te spijsen', NT no. 100 (19 August).

bare as has never been seen, complaining greatly of the peasants, who had taken from them everything their enemies had left them with.<sup>116</sup>

This interest was to be found from the very first report of the battle, which mentioned that in the aftermath fleeing soldiers were 'cut down by the peasants, stripped naked, and wholly despoiled'.<sup>117</sup> The antagonism between soldiers and peasants did not entirely run in the former's favour. Finally, military intelligence was always of interest. The propaganda coups of the decade, the 'Anhalt Chancery' and the 'Spanish Chancery', might fall into this category, but the only story in that line in 1623 was the hanging of two spies at Bergen op Zoom.<sup>118</sup>

### *Shipping and Finance*

The movement of ships, like the movement of soldiers, was a matter of concern to the newspaper-reading public. The composition of fleets and the building or commandeering of troop transports were reported,<sup>119</sup> as were when they put to sea<sup>120</sup>—or failed to<sup>121</sup>—their known or surmised objectives,<sup>122</sup> and their progress in so far as it could be ascertained.<sup>123</sup> The prizes of privateers and corsairs were reported whenever details were available: sometimes such news

116 'Graff von Tilly hat daß Geschütz vorgestern unnd gestern nach Coßfeldt führen, auch uber 1000. gefangene unnd verwundete nach Münster convoiren lassen, daselbst sie von der Bürgerschaft in etwas mit Brodt erfrischt, theils verbunden, und nach dem sie Hertzog Christian abgeschworen, dimittirt worden, deren etliche hundert und sonsten viel mehr von der Schlacht durch Oßnabruck passirt, so naked unnd bloß, daß dergleichen nit gesehen worden, Klagen sehr uber die Bawren, weiln dieselbige, waß ihnen ihr Feind gelassen, gäntzlich abgenommen.' Westphalia (1 August o.s.), *AAB* no. 35.

117 'von den Bawren nider gehawet, nackendt außgezogen, und gar verderbet'. News from Tilly's Army (n.d.), *AAB* no. 33.

118 'Twee cloecke Spioens, sich verstaende om wercken ende passagien te verspieden, [...] ende geattrappeert, verstaetmen tot Bergen gehangen te zijn', *TVQ* 7 Feb.

119 'They write us word from Amsterdam that 60 Turkish men of warre of *Algier & Thunis*, were lately come in and joined with their fleet, which went out under Admirall *L'Hermite*', *WN* no. 37 (26 June), p. 21.

120 'Zu Neapoli sein 1000. Spanier nach Meyland zuführen eingeladen worden', Rome (1 July), *WZF* no. 29.

121 'Den windt blijft heel Geus', Dunkirk (20 May), *NT* no. 65 (2 June).

122 'Hier sijn over dry weken wt *Cades Males* gheloopen elff gheweldighe Galeoenen met dry *Patachos* [...] men weet niet waer naer dat die henen sijn [...] eenighe alhier meynen naer Oost-Indien oft naer *China*', Seville (5 Oct.), *NT* no. 132 (10 Nov.).

123 'De Vlote van Oraegnien, onlanx wt Hollant vertrocken, liggen present int Eylant van Wicht', Dunkirk (20 May), *NT* no. 65 (2 June).

fell into the category of a military victory,<sup>124</sup> but more often it reads like bulletins for the information of maritime insurers.<sup>125</sup> As with the pillaging of land armies, an enemy's success at sea could be turned into an ideological weapon against him: 'The Hollanders rob so horribly on the Spanish Coasts and all in the company of Turks, what do your worships make of these Turkish brethren? that spoil all of Spain and Portugal'.<sup>126</sup>

Straightforward commercial shipping news was also printed. Newspapers had not yet reached such a degree of specialisation that any of them ran shipping lists; the oldest of which I am aware is the *Publick Adviser* (London, May–September 1657), while in earlier years exceptional bills of lading had been published as occasionals.<sup>127</sup> But while there might not yet have been regular shipping lists in 1623, anything out of the ordinary was considered newsworthy, for instance cargoes from distant lands arriving (or failing to arrive) in Spain, Portugal, Holland or Zeeland;<sup>128</sup> or exceptionally large shipments of spices, bullion, sugar or cloth.<sup>129</sup> While the interest in such stories may have been

124 'They of Zealand have lately taken another Ship laden with Sugars, Sallet-oyles, & other Commodities, which they have brought with them into Flushing', Amsterdam (nd), *WN* no. 37 (26 June), p. 21.

125 'als auch 5. Naven mit allerhand Wahren von Roan nach Seville fahren wollen seind 3. der selben von 8. Türkische Vassellen gefangen worden, welches selbigem Platz 400000 Cronen schaden bringet', Venice (10 March), *RFGH* no. 13.

126 'De Hollanders rooven soo grouwelijck op de Spaensche Costen ende al in Compagnie van Turcken, wat dunckt U.L. van dese Turcxsche Broeders? d'welck heel Spagnien ende Portugal bederft', Dunkirk (19 July), *NT* no. 88 (2 August).

127 E.g. *Memorie vande goederen byden Directeur Pieter van den Broeck tot Suratte inde drie Respective Schepen geladen. Adij 20. December, 1626* (Amsterdam, Jacob Pietersz. Wachter, 1628).

128 'hier waeren over 3. weken twee rijcke Schepen van *Puerto Rico* ghearriveert...', Seville (25 April), *NT* no. 65 (2 June); 'sonst ist zu Lisabona auß den Portugalischen Indien, daß Schiff Paradeiß genant, mit Spezerey, Bisem, unnd 24. Pöntelen Diamanten eingelauffen', Venice (13 Jan.), *RFGH* no. 5; 'De Coopvaerdy-schepen zijn dese weecke uyt Muscoven altsamen met den Convoyer ingecomen, hebben groote onweer in Zee gehad, brengen mede veel Zijde ende Costelijcke Coopmanschappen', *TVQ* 13 Nov.; 'Ladinge van't Schip Schiedam, commende vande Custen van Cormandel, is dese weke int Goereesche Gat wel aengehecomen, mede brengende dit naervolgende Carge [...]', *TVQ* 20 Nov.

129 'Zu Livorno ist ein Niderländisch Schiff, so auß Engellandt kommen mit 5000. Ballen Pfeffer, Bley, Zinn und anderen wahren angelant', Rome (18 June), *RFGH* no. 27; 'deßgleichen sol der Principe Doria zu Carthagena 60000. Cronen einladen und nach Genua führen', Venice (14 July), *WZF* no. 30; 'Tot Livorno zijn twee Enghelsche Schepen met 800. kisten Suycker, 270. Balen Laken, Wolle, ende andere Coopmanschappen ghearriveert', Venice (29 Sept.), *NT* no. 125 (27 Oct.).

greatest in Antwerp, Amsterdam, London and Hamburg, they were followed in almost as much detail in landlocked Zürich, Strasbourg, Frankfurt and Berlin. One of the main on-going commercial stories of the year was the teething problems of the Dutch West India Company, and particularly the blow to the Dutch salt trade of the new fort at the Venezuelan salt pans.<sup>130</sup> The WIC's early problems were reported in all the newspapers studied except Janszoon's, and Verhoeven in particular made much of them. The shipping news of Spain and the Low Countries was Europe's main window to the wider world: it was largely by this route that such distant stories as the Amboyna massacre, the failure of the Dutch attempt on Macao, or the Viceroy of Goa's attempt to retake Ormuz were brought into the newswriting network.<sup>131</sup> Letters from the Missions were another, far less frequent, source of overseas news.

Just as the greatest single story among troop movements was the Spanish Road, the single greatest piece of shipping news was the safe arrival of a silver fleet. The reason was simple: if, as was rumoured in early 1623, the fleet was destroyed by a hurricane, 'it will cause many bankruptcies'.<sup>132</sup> By contrast, a rich cargo would, in Verhoeven's words in 1622, 'give great impetus to trade, as well as to the war'.<sup>133</sup> In Brussels, official notification of a fleet's safe arrival was celebrated with the singing of *Te Deum* in the court chapel.<sup>134</sup> The arrival of three fleets was published in the course of 1623: one that had reached port in December 1622, one in June 1623, and one in September 1623. Exact figures are one of the areas where the newspapers tend to be contradictory. Thus the Fleet of *Tierra Firme* which arrived in June 1623 was said to have brought 'about nine millions', '8 million 700 thousand silver pesos of eight Reals', 'over ten million in gold', and '12 million'.<sup>135</sup>

130 '20. Stadische Kriegsschiff umb Salz zu laden nacher West Indien gefahren [...] durch die Spanier solcher Orten (weil dieselbe nach der länge deß Gestads starcke Forten oder Vestungen gebawet) verhindert worden, als daß sie ganz ohnverrichter sachen wider abziehen müssen...', London (21 Feb.), *RFGH* no. 10. See Vim Klooster, 'Perlas, sal y tabaco', in *Dans le sillage de Colomb*, edited by Jean-Pierre Sanchez (Rennes, 1995), p. 99.

131 See e.g. Rotterdam (14 Sept.), *NT* 114 (27 Sept.); Rome (18 July), *RFGH* no. 27.

132 'wird es viel Fallimenten verursachen', London (21 Feb.), *RFGH* no. 10.

133 'de Trafficque haeren loop seer doen hebben, als oock de oorloge', *NT* 1622 no. 1 (7 Jan.), p. 4.

134 *BMB*, Chifflet vol. 179, fo. 120.

135 Madrid (n.d.), *NT* no. 76 (July); Seville (6 June), *NT* no. 81 (14 July); Amsterdam (11 July), *RFGH* no. 29; Brussels (8 July), *AAB* no. 29. The figure of 9,700,000 pesos given in Michel Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 61, has not been found in any newspaper consulted, and no reference beyond 'les gazettes' is provided as a source. The same is true of several of his figures.

In expectation of the arrival of bullion, the Spanish system of military and diplomatic expenditure relied on raising loans from Genoese bankers.<sup>136</sup> These loans were then distributed in the form of letters of exchange.<sup>137</sup> The letters of exchange were in turn covered by bullion shipments within Europe.<sup>138</sup> All of this was public knowledge, and indeed when things were going well the Crown had every reason to let potential lenders know how solvent it was, even though the contents of the fleet were supposedly a state secret. The fullest details of such transactions, as one might expect, were published in Antwerp by Verhoeven.

### News Stories of 1623

Having considered the general typology of the news reports of 1623, and the similarities and common structures of Europe's information community, some of the major news stories of the year will now be considered. This will enable us to look at the different ways in which this common corpus of news, about the courts, parliaments, armies, shipping and finance of Europe, was treated by editors with different confessional and dynastic allegiances. These stories were followed over a number of weeks or even months in the course of the year, and show the structural adaptation of the news services to events: editors managed to acquire series of reports from news centres not always prominent, or even present, among their newspaper's usual sources.

Although Europe's newspaper editors worked within the same communications framework, reporting the same events on the basis of the same reports, there was still some room for editorial choice in the selection of material. Some editors used different newswriting services based in the same city: most of the news from Amsterdam published in Germany was Orangist and Gomarist, while Verhoeven's correspondent was clearly a Catholic malcontent. Even when the same reports were used, they could be edited in different ways.

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136 'De Negotianten vanden Hove zijn alhier besich om een partije te maken met zijne Majesteyt van vijff Millioenen Croonen, om te provideren inde Neerlanden, Duytslant ende Italien, d'welc oorsaecke gheeft ende teecken is van groote Oorloghe desen Jaere', Madrid (17 Jan.), *NT* no. 21 (25 Feb.).

137 'desen Post bringht wt Spaignen inde vier hondert maels duysent ducaten, in wisselbrieven', Brussels (June), *NT* no. 81 (14 July).

138 'is tot Genua een Barceloonsch Galleye met hondert ende dertich kisten vol Realen ghearriveert, ende daer sal noch een andere met hondert ende tseventich kisten vol Realen volgen'. Venice (7 April), *NT* no. 54 (29 April).

For example, a report written from Rome at the very beginning of the year was printed in surviving issues of the newspapers of Hamburg, Antwerp, Strasbourg and Amsterdam.<sup>139</sup> Although very similar to one another, no two versions of the text are quite the same. The fullest version was printed in Strasbourg and ran:

From Rome, on 7 January.

The Prince of Condé, who has discussed weighty matters with the Pope, who gave a stately banquet for him, as also did Cardinal Ludovisi, is going here and there to see all the most memorable sights, on Sunday visiting the Seven Churches and on Monday the Jesuits and Cardinal Bentivoglio, and some of his entourage have already gone to Loreto, whence he will soon follow, there to make his devotions for his firstborn prince on his homewards journey.

From Naples we have that the new Viceroy, the Duke of Alva, has made his entry there in very stately fashion, has condemned Don Julio Genueno, who entered in the Duke of Ossuna's time, to perpetual imprisonment in the Fortress Orano, has prohibited the bearing of short poignards [stiletos], and abolished vagabondage, and any strangers arriving are to be registered.

The Papal Nuncio writes from Spain that the conditions for the marriage of the king's sister to the king of England's son have been agreed, namely that the practice of the Catholic religion be permitted in England in one public church, the Spaniards be allowed to trade freely in London, satisfaction be given for the Palatinate, and the County of Flanders fall to the English crown, also news that the king of Spain will not restitute the Valtelline, but keep it by force, and there is no appearance that the king of France will relinquish anything, having mobilized to prevent further occupation and seeking an alliance with the king of England and the German princes; some say that his majesty will relinquish the Valtelline and all its dependencies to the Pope, who will institute a Legate over it at Avignon.<sup>140</sup>

139 WZMO no. 5 (n.d.), NT no. 15 (10 Feb.), RFGH no. 5 (n.d.), TVQ (7 Feb.). WZF nos. 2–4, NUZ nos. 2–7, and AAB nos 1–28 are all missing in the collections consulted.

140 'Der Prinz von Conde, welcher mit dem Bapst wichtige sachen tractirt, der ihme auch wie ghleichfals dem Cardinal Ludovisio ein statlich Pancket gehalten, thut hin unnd wider alle denckwürdige sachen besichtigen, wie er dann Sontags die 7. Kirchen und Afftermontags die Jesuiten und Cardinal Bendivagli besucht, und theils seines Hoffgesinds wider nach Loreta geschickt, denen er ehist folgen solle, sein ander votum wegen seines

There were three stories, one from Rome itself, one from Naples, and one from Spain, each of which in turn contained a number of pieces of information. Whether this information was used in other newspapers is set out in Table 4 below. Even when the same item was printed, it could be given more briefly or extensively. Verhoeven, for example, was the only one to have the detail that Cardinal Ludovisi showed Condé his famous collection of antiquities and curiosities after the banquet, but did not mention Condé's reason for wanting to visit Loreto. He gave the final piece on papal mediation in the Valtelline in fuller form than any of the others, but touched more lightly on the Spanish reluctance to make concessions, and completely cut the Roman report of news from Spain about the marriage negotiations. These had already been covered in Antwerp in more detail and from better sources, so it is no surprise that the report was cut here.

A number of the events of 1623 were of considerable historical importance, and an overview will demonstrate that the contemporary reading (and listening) public was well-informed about the events themselves and was presented with clear ideas about the way developments in one part of Europe impacted on the balance of wider international alliances and rivalries. A few such stories will not be discussed in detail but should not go entirely unmentioned. One was the discovery of an Arminian plot to assassinate Prince Maurice (with the subsequent investigations, arrests, interrogations and executions), a story that ran for weeks without triggering more bulletins from The Hague, Amsterdam or elsewhere in Holland than were already usual, or leading to a change in

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erstgebornen Prinzen am zuruck zug alda zuverichten.//Von Neapoli hat man, daß der Duca di Alba newer Vice Re alda seinen einzug seht statlich gehalten, daselbst ist der Don Julio Genueno, so bey des Duca di Ossuna zeiten eingezogen, zu ewiger gefängnus, in die Vestung Orano verurtheilt, auch alle kurtze Pächsen zu tragen verboten, und alle Vagabundi auß zu schaffen, dargegen aber alle fremde ankommene frembde Persohnen in acht zu nemmen gebotten worden.//Auß Spania hat man mit einem Päbstischen Nuncio daselbst, daß der Heuraht mit deß Königs Schwester und Königs in Engeland Sohn, mit diesen gar leidentlichen Conditionen beschlossen, nämlich das die Catolische Religion in Engeland in einer offnen Kirchen geübt, auch allen Spaniern die Statt Londen offen stehen, und wegen der ChurPfalz ein sates vernügen geleist, und wann die einverleibt Graffschafft Flandern der Cron Engeland werden solle, es wil auch der König in Spania das Veltlin nicht restituiren, sondern mit gewalt erhalten, damit es nicht das ansehen habe, dz ers dem König in Franckreich, auß forcht abgetreten, ist auch entschlossen, zu verhütung fernern auffstands, oder Kriegs in Teutschland, ein Bündtnuß mit dem König in Engeland, unnd den Teutschen Fürsten auff zurichten, etlich melden daß ihr M. das Veltlin mit aller zugehör dem Pabst einraumen, und einen Legaten alda, wie zu Avignone einsetzen wolle.'



TABLE 4 *Selective printing of the same report (news from Rome, 7 January 1623).*

	Strasbourg	Hamburg	Amsterdam	Antwerp
<i>Rome</i>				
Condé's visit	x			x
<i>Naples</i>				
Duke of Alba's reception	x	x	x	x
Imprisonment of Don Giulio	x	x	x	x
Ordinances on public order	x	x	x	x
<i>Spain</i>				
Marriage conditions	x	x	x	
Reluctance to relinquish Valtelline	x	x	x	
Anglo-German league	x	x	x	
Papal legate at Avignon	x	x	x	x

editorial attitudes to Arminianism. It also led to the uncovering of the secret system of fund-raising in the Netherlands set up by the Arminian Synod of Antwerp in 1619, which in the Protestant press in Germany was misreported as a collection of subsidies for the Spanish war effort.<sup>141</sup> Another major story was the on-going political crisis in the Ottoman Empire, which saw a rapid succession of coups and counter-coups in 1618–1623, culminating in the deposition of Mustafa I (1617–1618, 1622–1623) in favour of Murad IV (1623–1640).<sup>142</sup> One reason for the failure of Mustafa's rule was held to be public revulsion at the murder of his nephew, Osman II, by the Janissaries, a rare reference in the Western press to public opinion in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>143</sup> The death of Pope Gregory XV and the election of the Florentine Maffeo Barberini as Urban VIII was a major news story in itself, but also because of its immediate implications for international power politics. The new pope's known inclination to France contributed to the breakdown of the tentative agreement for Habsburg withdrawal from the Valtelline.

Longer-running stories covered in 1623 were the recatholicisation of Bohemia and the enforcement of Calvinist orthodoxy within the Dutch

141 WZMO 30; Amsterdam (18 July), AAB 31; see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (Oxford, 1995), p. 463.

142 See Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire* (London, 1994), pp. 60–61.

143 E.g. 'wegen sie das Königl. Ottomannische Blut vergossen, sehr verächtlich halte', Venice (3 March), WZMO no. 11; see also WZF no. 11, NT no. 38.

Reformed church. In both cases the same facts were reported, but the editorial additions varied. For Catholic editors the Bohemian Protestants were heretic rebels, while most Protestant editors took the same attitude towards the Arminians. In Petersdorff, 'reformation' meant that the citizens were given four weeks to convert to Catholicism or sell up; in Nijmegen it meant the public humiliation of Arminian preachers.<sup>144</sup> In Prague, a correspondent wrote, 'The little church in Malá Strana called Jan Hus, has lately been reformed, with the old epitaphs, pulpit, benches and tombstones removed, consecrated and dedicated to St Leopold'.<sup>145</sup> Only in Spain was reformation a question of ruffs and collars.

The two major stories that most clearly demonstrate the adaptability of news networks are the *Deputationstag* at Regensburg and Prince Charles's visit to Spain. In 1623 the electors and princes of the Empire travelled to Regensburg, or sent deputies, to attend a meeting summoned by the emperor. The presence of the imperial household would have been cause enough for an increase in reporting from Regensburg, but in addition the diet itself was a focus for concern and interest throughout Europe.

The emperor claimed to have summoned the diet to ask the advice of the electors and princes on six points: how to prevent future upheavals, the Bohemian revolt finally having been suppressed; the desirability of reviving the subsidies, lapsed since 1603, for the defence of the Empire's military frontier with the Turks; what to do about the frequent Dutch incursions into German territory; the extent of the emperor's powers to decide cases between cities and principalities of the Empire without prejudicing the imperial constitutions and liberties; how to speed up the judicial process in the Imperial Chamber at Speyer, the ultimate legal resort of the entire Empire; and the best remedy for the miseries and disorders caused by the circulation of bad coin.<sup>146</sup> Like any assembly, the diet was an occasion for the airing of grievances, such as the Swabian Circle's concerns about billeting, and the distress of the elector of Saxony at the harsh treatment meted out to his co-religionists in Bohemia. Broer Janszoon even reported that the elector of Saxony's representatives had repeatedly declared 'that His Electoral Grace held the present war for a war of

144 Vienna (13 Sept.), *AAB* no. 39; Arnhem no. 13 (27 March).

145 'Diese tage hat man das Kirchlein auff der kleinen seithen, Johan Huß genant, reformiret, und die alten Epitaphia, Stüel, Bänck, und Grabstein herauß gethan, geweyhet, und S. Leopold genant'. Prague (8 Sept.), *WZMO* no. 29.

146 *Acta Ratisbonensia* (n.p., 1623); *The Acts of the Diet of Regenspurgh* (London, Nathaniel Butter, 1623). The Imperial Proposition was printed by Verhoeven as *Sacrae Caes. Majest. Propositio in Conventu Electorum*.

religion',<sup>147</sup> although in actual fact the elector of Saxony persisted in refusing to see the war as one of religion until 1630.<sup>148</sup> Janszoon also seems to hint that even the ecclesiastical electors and the duke of Bavaria thought the emperor relied too much on 'foreign' advice from Rome and Madrid.

But the real business of the diet was the finalising of the confiscation of the lands of Frederick of the Palatinate, now under the imperial ban, and the transfer of his electoral dignity to the duke of Bavaria. This was an issue that in some way affected almost every dynasty in Europe: the Emperor, the Prince Palatine and the Duke of Bavaria most directly, but also Transylvania, the Low Countries, England and Spain. James I, grandfather of the Palatine's disinherited children, had an interest in the affair, reflected in the concern of William Trumbull, his resident in Brussels, to collect pamphlets and newspapers describing the proceedings and conclusions.<sup>149</sup> The emperor insisted that both the ban and the transfer came under his own remit and were settled matters, but he was still keen to have the princes recognise this, and to use the diet as a forum for the investiture of the Duke of Bavaria as elector—in a ceremony that Verhoeven described in much greater detail than did any Protestant newspaper, but for one detail he omitted and all the others published: that the Spanish ambassador absented himself.<sup>150</sup> Similarly, all the surviving issues from the relevant period reported the death at Regensburg on 29 December 1622 of Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen, prince-bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg; but only Verhoeven reported the solemn mourning and ran a two-page obituary.<sup>151</sup> The business of the *Deputationstag* was of interest everywhere, but was generally reported in the 'parliamentary' style; of the newspapers covered, only the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* showed much interest in the attendant courtly ceremonial.

The greatest story of 1623 was Prince Charles's journey to Spain, an unparalleled occasion for journalistic hyperbole. The romantic notion of the incognito journey to claim a bride, the magnificence of the prince's reception, the

147 'dat hare Churvorstelijcke Ghenade den teghenwoordighen Krijgh voor een Religions Krijghs hielden', Regensburg (4 Jan.), *TVQ*, 24 Jan.

148 Bodo Nischan, 'On the Edge of the Abyss', in *The Thirty Years' War*, edited by Geoffrey Parker (London & New York, 1987), pp. 115–116.

149 Bodleian shelfmark Vet. M 1 c.3, a collection of pamphlets mostly from Trumbull's library, including *NT* no. 48 (21 March), the *Sacrae Caes. Majest. Propositio*, the *Epistola Ferdinandi II. Imperatoris ad Iacobum Magnae Britanniae regem*, all printed by Verhoeven, and several Protestant pieces on related issues.

150 *NT* no. 35 (24 March).

151 *NT* no. 36 (24 March).

priceless gifts he sent for from England to distribute at the Spanish court, and not least the political implications of such a marriage for Europe as a whole, were all the subject of a flood of newspaper reports and special editions, as well as occasionals brought out by numerous other printers across the Continent. Even the future of the Palatinate and of the electoral transfer would be influenced by whether the marriage went ahead, and on what terms. Speculation concerning Charles's imminent conversion to Catholicism, direct correspondence between Gregory XV and Charles, and between the Emperor and James I, were reported in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* and picked up across Europe. The religious articles of the marriage negotiations were reprinted in Paris, Grenoble, Lyon, Milan and Naples from Verhoeven's Antwerp edition.<sup>152</sup>

While the Diet caused a temporary spate of reports from Regensburg in the first half of the year, Prince Charles's incognito visit to Spain gave a similarly short-lived prominence to Madrid and Seville. But for Abraham Verhoeven, who in any case already made more extensive use of Spanish sources than his contemporaries, it also fixed England on the map. Before 1623 he had printed only infrequent and irregular reports from England, one of the earliest being a translation of James I's proclamation of 24 December 1620 (old style) prohibiting discussion of matters of state.<sup>153</sup> After March 1623, barely a month went by without at least one story on English affairs, usually from London but sometimes from other towns. According to one Protestant commentator, the source of much of the reporting from England in the 'Gazetts, that come from Rome, Millane, and Antwerp, and that damnable Gallo Belgius lately come over' was John Fisher, the alias of the Jesuit missionary John Percy who acted as chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham's mother.<sup>154</sup> Whether the gazette from Antwerp was the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* is another matter, but since Percy was involved in the clandestine Catholic book trade at the London end, as Verstegan was in Antwerp, it is not at all unlikely that he may have been one source of Verstegan's, and hence of Verhoeven's, information. As has been mentioned, the desire for the latest news from England and Spain also gave Brussels a new prominence as a newswriting centre in the *Avisen auß Berlin* and in Hamburg's *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*.

152 A. Allison & D. Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation*, vol. 1 (Aldershot, 1989), pp. 203–204. Allison and Rogers failed to identify the precise Antwerp edition copied.

153 *NT* 1621 no. 34 (10 March), followed by news of Francis Bacon's fall in no. 81 (29 May).

154 *Something written by Occasion of that Fatall and Memorable Accident in the Blacke Friers* (1624), quoted in John Gee, *Foot out of the Snare* (1624), ed. T.H.B.M. Harmsen (Nijmegen, 1992), pp. 203–204.

Like the Diet of Regensburg, the negotiations for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria were of concern across Europe. The uniting of their families in marriage would tie together the Habsburg dynasty and the intricate set of marriage alliances between the great Protestant princes: the Prince of Wales would become brother-in-law to Philip IV as well as to Frederick of the Palatinate; Christian IV of Denmark was the groom's uncle, the Emperor Ferdinand was the bride's. The dynastic ramifications extended to every royal house in Europe. This was not lost on newswriters. Verhoeven's first mention of the marriage negotiations was in a long editorial which saw this as a golden opportunity for a general peace, which only 'the enemies of the peace of Christendom' could possibly oppose.<sup>155</sup> Nor was the hope for general peace entirely exaggerated, as the Infanta Isabella and James I were at the same time putting their influence behind attempts to negotiate general ceasefires in the Empire and the Netherlands. Only on 13 May 1623 did the hesitant beginnings of a general peace conference at Brussels dissolve, with the envoys of the Emperor and of the Electors of Mainz and Cologne taking their leave of the Infanta.<sup>156</sup> Shortly thereafter the officers and soldiers of the Army of Flanders were ordered to rejoin their units.<sup>157</sup> Even then, there were hopes that a dual peace conference could be called for the following year, at Brussels and Cologne.

The negotiations between the crowns of Britain and Spain were keenly followed in the United Provinces, as an Anglo-Spanish alliance would have serious repercussions for their naval power in the North Sea and their New World and Asian trade; in the Empire, as Spanish garrisons in the Palatinate and the status of the Palatine's children were issues for James; by the Papacy, concerned for the welfare of the Catholics of England, Scotland and Ireland. Verhoeven's reports on the negotiations came not just from London and Madrid, but also from Dunkirk, Brussels, Holland, Cologne, Paris, Rome and Prague. Even what would otherwise have been the biggest story of the summer, the death of Gregory XV and the election of Urban VIII, was assessed for the likely effect on papal policy towards the marriage of the Catholic King's sister to a future head of the Anglican Communion. No other newspaper went to such lengths as the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* to cover the story, but all of them did cover it, in reports from Cologne, Antwerp and Brussels, and even occasionally from London and Madrid.

155 'de vyanden van den Vrede van Christenrijck', *NT* no. 16 (15 Feb.).

156 Bernard de Meester (ed.), *Correspondance du Nonce Giovanni-Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1621-1627)*, vol. 1 (Brussels & Rome, 1938), p. 316.

157 De Meester (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

The negotiations gave rise to fierce pamphleteering in English. Religious exiles and soldiers in foreign service, Protestants in the Northern Netherlands and Catholics in the South, were particularly forward in commenting on James's policy. Works like *An Experimentall Discoverie of Spanish Practises. Or, the Counsell of a well-wishing Souldier* (printed anonymously in 1623), and Verstegan's *The Copy of a Letter Sent from an English Gentleman, lately Become a Catholike beyond the Seas, to His Protestant Friend in England* (printed anonymously in 1622) led to two royal proclamations in England banning such productions.<sup>158</sup> Some such pamphlets were quite explicitly opposed to the pacific line promoted by King James, for instance Thomas Scott's *The Belgick Souldier. Or, Warre was a Blessing* (published anonymously), which was intended 'to prove, that Warre hath been better than peace, and that the Commonwealth and Religion of England have had their glory and propagation by opposing Antichrist'.<sup>159</sup> Verhoeven's point about the 'enemies of the peace of Christendom' was not entirely based on prejudice.

Unlike the news coverage given to Prince Charles's visit within Spain itself, which began with Charles's arrival in March and ended with his departure in September,<sup>160</sup> the newspapers of Germany and the Low Countries picked the story up in February, and followed it closely until November, while the pamphlet press of England, France and Italy was far from inactive. The story was not dropped entirely until July 1624, when it was officially announced that the marriage was not to go ahead. While 'Spaniards were told nothing of the popular rejoicing that broke out when Charles disembarked at Portsmouth without his intended Spanish bride', readers of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* were not only told of the rejoicing, but encouraged to share in it: with Charles safely home, and the Infanta Maria to follow in the spring, there was far less danger of Frederick of the Palatinate becoming king of England.<sup>161</sup> It is, indeed, one of the curiosities of Thomas Cogswell's work on the Spanish Match that he sees the negotiations as creating a 'fissure' in the English nation, but puts everybody except the king and a small group of noblemen on one side of the divide.<sup>162</sup> There had been joyous celebrations when news reached London that Prince Charles had reached Madrid safely, and was being well entertained by

158 25 September 1623 o.s. and 15 August 1624 o.s. See James F. Larkin & Paul L. Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 583–585, 599–600.

159 *The Belgick Souldier*, p. 2.

160 Ettinghausen, 'Prince Charles', loc. cit.

161 *NT* no. 131 (10/11), pp. 3–7.

162 Thomas Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, edited by Richard Cust & Ann Hughes (London & New York, 1989), pp. 111–116.

Philip IV, but these were celebrations in which the Puritans did not join.<sup>163</sup> The celebration of Charles's return was surely so enthusiastic precisely because all could celebrate it sincerely—some because he returned alone, others because he returned at all.

Finally, another of the great news stories of 1623 was the Battle of Stadtlohn, a resounding and seemingly decisive imperial victory. On 12 August Verhoeven printed issue 95, containing a selection of reports from Germany and a report from Brussels, bringing the first news that Brunswick had suffered a reverse near Bocholt on 6 August. On the 14, 16 and 19 August Verhoeven's presses were devoted full-time to printing detailed accounts of Tilly's victory at Stadtlohn, five in all (issues 96–100), and only in issues 101 and 102 (both 25 August) did other news again make an appearance. For almost a fortnight (12–25 August), readers of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* were provided with no news except Stadtlohn. On 6 September, the 'month's mind' of those who fell in the battle, Verhoeven published a satirical 'Lament of the Mad Bishop'.<sup>164</sup>

On 12 August the story had also broken in Amsterdam, Broer Janszoon printing an undated report that Brunswick's rearguard had been routed and baggage train captured, while the main body of the army conducted an orderly retreat.<sup>165</sup> Janszoon's next issue (19 August) is no longer extant, but presumably he too printed the report from Duisburg carried in the Arnhem newspaper on 15 August that the ferocity of the Croat attack and the effectiveness of Tilly's field artillery threw Brunswick's whole army into disorder and that his infantry was entirely killed, captured or scattered.<sup>166</sup> The corresponding issues from Frankfurt, and even those of the *Avisen auß Berlin*, censored by the elector of

163 *NT* no. 50 (28/4), pp. 11–13. Cogswell does not mention these celebrations in 'England and the Spanish Match', nor in *The Blessed Revolution* (Cambridge, 1991), although they were reported across Europe at the time.

164 'Sommier Verhael Oft Beclach vanden Dollen Bisschop, oft Halberstadt, aen sijn mede Ghesellen, ende Compagnon Mansfeldt', *NT* no. 107 (6 Sept.).

165 'den achtertocht die sy t'eenemael in route gheslaghen hebben [...] De Ruyterije siende den Vyandt soo sterck van alle canten aen comen, ende Tilly mede, saghen gheen kans om teghenstant te doen, derhalven met de andere ses Regimenten op't spoedighste voort marcherende [...] gheheel ghematteert ende vry schadeloos in de Lijmers tusschen Doesburgh end Elten aengecomen'.

166 'soo isser doch sulcken disordre geweest, datter niet aen heeft gheholpen, hebben alsoo het Voetvolc meest verstroeyt, tGheschut met de waghens, daer de Ammunitie op was bekomen [...] Ende hoe wel het seer verscheyden wordt verteldt, selfs van de ghene die daer by syn gheweest, wt oorsaecke, dat de eene partije niet gheweten heeft, hoe het met de andere ghegaen is, soo wordt dit het sekerste ghehouden'. Arnhem no. 33 (15 August).

Brandenburg's Privy Council,<sup>167</sup> show little but awe at the sudden and total destruction of Brunswick's 'famous army'—although the *Avisen* also went out of its way to stress the foreign elements among Tilly's forces (Croats, Poles, Walloons and Spaniards).<sup>168</sup> Stadtlohn, like the Battle of the White Mountain, was a textbook example of the creation of reputation through feats of arms.

Warfare was important in the general culture of the time. Appreciation of the ability of Tilly—whose name is largely associated with pike squares in military historiography—to reduce an entire army to disorder by the effective deployment of field artillery and light cavalry was certainly one element in the coverage. Even so, there were other reasons for Verhoeven's exuberant celebration of what has been described as 'the most decisive of all the Catholic victories' of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>169</sup> Not least was the hope that it would bring peace. News of the victory reached Antwerp a day or two after the printing of the pamphlet dialogue on peace discussed in the previous chapter, and seemed to confirm all the hopes it expressed. With Bethlen Gabor and Frederick of the Palatinate, thus far the figureheads of the Protestant war effort in the Empire, forced to abandon their military aspirations, and plans for a dual peace conference in Brussels and Cologne still in the air, it looked as though a settlement favourable to the Catholic powers could be established after five years of warfare.<sup>170</sup>

It may have been a little disorienting for Verhoeven that the very extent of military success encouraged diplomatic intransigence in Vienna and Madrid. In his continuing enthusiasm for the English marriage, the electoral transfer, and concessions in the Palatinate and the Valtelline, he was increasingly 'off message' with the Spanish Council of State, and was almost certainly aware of this.<sup>171</sup> Spain's growing reluctance on all these issues was reported elsewhere, but not by Verhoeven. This probably reflects wider opinion in Antwerp,

167 Klaus Bender, 'Vossische Zeitung', in Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (ed.), *Deutsche Zeitungen* (Pullach bei München, 1972), p. 27.

168 'berühmte Armada', *AAB* no. 35; see *WZF* nos 32–33; *AAB* nos 33–35.

169 Geoffrey Parker & Simon Adams, 'Europe and the Palatine War', in Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 68. In the words of Birghden's Münster correspondent (11 Aug.), 'die Victori ist statlicher als die vor Prag vor 3. Jahren beschehen' (*WZF* no. 33).

170 In this context, to see Spinola's military inactivity in 1623 as 'inexplicable' is to assume for no good reason that the Infanta was in bad faith, *pace* Jonathan Israel, 'Olivares and the Government of the Spanish Netherlands', *Empires and Entrepreneurs* (London & Ronceverte, 1990), p. 170.

171 Olivares thought the Electoral transfer might imperil the marriage negotiations, so enthusiasm for both might seem contradictory, but Verhoeven's coverage of the marriage negotiations only began in *NT* no. 16 (15 Feb.), when the transfer was as good as settled.



where the fragile recovery of the 1590s and the years of the Truce was threatened by the renewal of hostilities—a fear voiced by Broer Janszoon's Antwerp correspondent, and more privately by Rubens—and given the likelihood that Verhoeven received some nods and winks about what was acceptable to publish, it may well have been a view influential in at least some quarters of the Infanta Isabella's court.

We saw in the previous chapter how Verhoeven created a very explicit pro-Habsburg and pro-Catholic editorial stance on European affairs, in return receiving protection from powerful patrons. This editorial stance allows him to be identified with particular views, and a particular faction within the establishment, in a way that the less editorially explicit newspapers of Holland and Germany cannot be. Despite this, it is clear from the general contents that the purpose of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was primarily informative. Slight but significant differences in emphasis and interpretation notwithstanding, the news printed by Verhoeven was substantially the same as that printed by the other newspaper editors: the information provided was that circulating in a fairly unified European newswriting system. This was a system that drew on news from all of Western Christendom, and beyond, and circulated it throughout Western and Central Europe, although this circulation only found printed expression in the German, Dutch and English language areas. In the 1630s and '40s this was to change: a fifteen-year period (1630–1645) saw the proliferation of newspaper publication within the areas where it was already established, and in many other parts of the European information system on which it relied. Within the Habsburg Netherlands, this explosion took news printing beyond any direct control by the central authorities.

## The Explosion of News Publishing, 1632–1648

From the late 1620s to the mid-1630s, the consensus built up by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella crumbled, and the political and military prestige of the House of Habsburg reached a low-point in the Netherlands. Abraham Verhoeven's business declined in parallel with the passing of the archducal order. But just as his business went under, current-affairs publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands attained new heights of productivity, with an unprecedented number of printers turning out an unprecedented number of pamphlets, and two new periodicals being founded in Antwerp to replace Verhoeven's bankrupt *Tijdinghen*. Yet another newspaper was printed, this one in Bruges, from 1637 or earlier, and towns previously unremarkable for their current-affairs output, such as Douai and Lille, developed local markets and more continuous production of news genres. By 1640, the authorities in Brussels were beginning to worry about the loss of control over news publishing, but reluctance to invest money or manpower in press control prevented any concerted attempt to recreate a central organ of reputation comparable to Verhoeven's *Tijdinghen* until 1649, the year after the Peace of Münster.

All over Europe, the same years saw a rapid growth in the news publishing business. Warfare was always a great stimulus to newspaper and pamphlet production. In Germany Gustavus Adolphus's campaigns (1630–1632) led to a spate of new newspapers and a flood of pamphlets, while the Battle of Nördlingen (1634) and the Peace of Prague (1635) were occasions for imperialist propaganda. At least thirty-two newspapers in German began publication in the years 1630–1635, albeit many of them short-lived.<sup>1</sup> In France the demand for news and the government's interest in reputation were boosted by the domestic tensions arising from the Mantuan war (1629–1631), the invasions of Lorraine (1633) and Alsace (1634), and the war against Spain (from 1635). In England newspaper publication was suppressed in 1632 but revived in 1638, and thrived from 1641 with the advent of civil war. The years 1639–1645 saw the appearance of newspapers in Genoa, Florence, Milan, Bologna, Naples and Turin; the War of Castro (1641–1644) was a particularly significant catalyst. New attempts at printing regular news periodicals in the Iberian Peninsula were undertaken in Lisbon and Barcelona in the early 1640s, in the midst of rebellion against Habsburg authority (successful in Portugal's case, not in

<sup>1</sup> Bogel & Blühm, pp. 81–120.

Catalonia's). The first regular Swedish newspaper appeared in 1645, a product of the Northern War of 1643–1645.

After considering the development of the current-affairs press in the Habsburg Netherlands in the 1630s and '40s, this will be put in the comparative perspective of the more general growth in news publishing throughout Europe. The sample year for comparison, selected on the basis of survivals in the collections consulted, will be 1644. As before, the central concerns will be who printed the news, what events and types of events they reported, and the wider political context of news publishing.

### The Habsburg Netherlands, 1632–1648

From a Habsburg perspective, 1632 was one of the worst years for news in the whole period. Domestic and foreign news was bad, and the military situation had serious repercussions for the patterns of communication. In April 1632 the marquis of Santa Cruz was sent to replace the count of Bergh as commander in chief of the Army of Flanders, and Bergh found himself in disgrace and his rivals gaining power in Brussels. Although he was governor of Gelderland, he abandoned the defensive line on the Maas and fled to Liège. There, on 18 June, he issued open letters calling upon the nobility and estates, and the Infanta herself, to throw off 'Spanish misgovernment'.<sup>2</sup> Within a week, Frederick Henry of Orange had also issued a manifesto calling on the Southern Netherlands to rise against the king, and on 11 September the States General in The Hague somewhat belatedly agreed the text of their own manifesto guaranteeing freedom of worship to their separated Catholic compatriots in the event of reunification after an uprising.<sup>3</sup> By then the pamphlet war was in full swing, with official and unofficial declarations for and against the earlier manifestos.<sup>4</sup> Besides formal replies and legal sentences, there were opinion pamphlets, at least one of which blamed every military reverse of the past decade on Bergh's sabotage.<sup>5</sup> Pasquils

2 'mauvais gouvènement des Espaignols', *Copie de la lettre, que Son Ex<sup>ce</sup>. le Comte Henry de Bergen, Maistre du Camp General de sa Majesté, a escript aux Prelats, Nobles & Villes des Provinces du Pays bas* (n.p.d.), letter dated Liège, 18 June 1632; *Copie de la lettre que son Ex<sup>ce</sup>. le Comte Henry de Bergh, Maistre du Camp General de sa Majesté, a escript à S. Alt<sup>se</sup>. Seren<sup>e</sup>. sur le subject de ses miscontentemens & resolutions pour le bien du Pais* (n.p.d.).

3 *Le manifeste de Messieurs les Etats des Provinces unies* (Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1632), esp. p. 5.

4 See e.g. Knuttel nos. 4217–4235.

5 *Avis aux Estats des Provinces du pays bas, fides et obeysantes à sa Majesté, sur les lettres ecrites de Liege le 18. de Juin, 1632, par le Comte Henry de Bergh* (no address [Henry Jaye, Mechelen], 1632), pp. 7–11.

were also an important part of subversive propaganda, and copies of some were printed in Holland and France, with explication for those unfamiliar with the Brussels court.<sup>6</sup> Probably more significant from a propaganda perspective was the States of Brabant's spontaneous decision publicly to renew its oath of loyalty to the archduchess and to the king.<sup>7</sup> Contrary to her orders from Spain, Isabella convoked the Estates General, to meet in September.

Bergh was the last of the four generals singled out for praise by Verhoeven; Bucquoy, Spinola and Tilly had all died in Habsburg service. Only eight issues of the *Courante* survive from 1632, and there is a gap between issue number 32 (16 June), which appeared two days before Bergh issued his first manifestos, and issue number 37 (9 July), which briefly reported the States of Brabant's spontaneous oath of loyalty. It is impossible to reconstruct how, in the intervening three weeks, Verhoeven's attitude to the count of Bergh shifted—as it must surely have done. After Spinola's departure the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* had devoted increasing space not just to Bergh but also to the duke of Aarschot (1587–1640).<sup>8</sup> In a list of the 'principal Lords' visiting Antwerp in February 1631, Aarschot came before all others, including Aytona and Leganes.<sup>9</sup> As a patron, he was almost as unfortunate a choice as Bergh. Aarschot seems sincerely to have striven for the same patriotic and constitutionally conservative goals as Bergh, without abandoning his loyalty to the House of Habsburg. Besides a number of offices at court, he was a councillor of state, governor of Namur, and first among the lords temporal of the States of Brabant.<sup>10</sup> With Archbishop Boonen, another councillor of state and first among the lords spiritual, he used his authority to promote the convening of the Estates General and the greater involvement of the provincial States in the management of affairs.<sup>11</sup> The peace that Bergh had demanded, Aarschot also actively sought to bring about by taking a leading part in negotiations at The Hague and Madrid. It was in Madrid, in the winter of 1633–34, that he was placed under house arrest. There he spent the rest of his life in detention.

6 E.g. *Les Mescontentemens et divisions des Principaux Seigneurs de Flandres* (no address, 1632).

7 Brussels (5 July), *Courante* 37 (9 July 1632). See also *Avis aux Estats des Provinces*, p. 19.

8 E.g. Bergh's wedding (WT 1630 no. 31); Aarschot's visit to his mother's sick-bed (1630 no. 117).

9 'principale Heeren', WT 1631 no. 16 (12 Feb.).

10 BN 1 (1866), coll. 388–401.

11 WT 1629–1631, *passim*. Boonen, a canonist and civil lawyer, began his career with legal work for the duke of Aarschot's father, Charles of Arenberg (R. Tambuyser, 'Jacobus Boonen edel gegradueerd kanunnik geestelijk raadsheer bij de Grote Raad', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 53 (1949), p. 150).

Bergh's treason was part of a wider plan. A number of discontented noblemen had been conspiring to raise rebellion and partition the Habsburg Netherlands between Holland and France—hardly the loyal opposition posited in Bergh's open letters. Frederick Henry's 1632 campaign was planned to coincide with the insurrection. Aarschot had not himself been a member of the conspiracy, but he had known of it. Indeed, his secret dissuasions had greatly contributed to its failure.<sup>12</sup> The prince of Orange, aided by Bergh's flight, swept along the Maas and invested Maastricht. The noble conspirators largely failed to move. Although the treason was not as disastrous as it might have been, Habsburg reputation was arguably at its lowest ebb since the 1570s.<sup>13</sup> The arrival of Don Ferdinand from Italy, expected since 1629, was delayed by Swedish successes in the Empire, where the news was at least as bad as in the Low Countries. France's military presence in Lorraine and diplomatic dominance in Trier completed the isolation of the Habsburg Netherlands.

Bad news in themselves, the Swedish advances also had serious repercussions for the physical structures of news transmission. Birghden, imperial postmaster in Frankfurt, had been dismissed in 1627 (see page 134 above), and went over to the Swedes. He became head of a Swedish postal system that linked Augsburg, Nuremberg and Frankfurt to the Swedish royal post office at Hamburg and military sorting office at Leipzig. At its zenith, this system had branch offices in Speyer, Strasbourg, Zürich and Venice.<sup>14</sup> Closer to home, the fall of Maastricht to Frederick Henry meant that one of the main post roads from Antwerp to the Rhineland had been cut. From 1630 to 1634, the imperial postmistress-general Alexandrine de Tassis presided over a near-ruinous relocation to new routes through Luxemburg and Alsace.<sup>15</sup>

The ability of Verhoeven and Widow Anthoon to obtain foreign news and to influence foreign opinion was limited by this curtailing of the postal dominance of Antwerp and Brussels, and what news there was could hardly be given a favourable gloss. Accordingly, Isabella's and Philip IV's representatives in England found it necessary to make complaints about the dominance of anti-Spanish news in the English press, leading to a suppression of English

12 Paul Janssens, 'La fronde de l'aristocratie belge en 1632', in *Rebelión y Resistencia en el Mundo Hispánico del Siglo XVII*, ed. Werner Thomas (Leuven, 1992), pp. 33–34.

13 See Jonathan I. Israel, 'Olivares, the Cardinal-Infante and Spain's Strategy in the Low Countries, 1635–1643: The Road to Rocroi', in Richard L. Kagan & Geoffrey Parker (eds), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World: Essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 273.

14 Behringer, 'Brussel', in Janssens & Meurrens, *De post*, p. 31.

15 Behringer, loc. cit.

newspapers which was to last for six years.<sup>16</sup> John Pory informed John Scudamore that ‘Yesterday Nath. Butter tolde me [...] hee is getting the Antworpe Currantos to be translated into English, to make known to their Lordships [of the Council] how much wee and our friendes are therein traduced’.<sup>17</sup> The very phrasing of Butter’s complaint (‘our friendes’) reveals his own bias: since 1630, the English were supposedly as much in amity with the Habsburgs as with the Dutch or the Swedes.

The boom in news publishing that could have saved Verhoeven’s business arrived only when his fortunes were too far gone to take full advantage of it. With the Cardinal Infant’s victory at Nördlingen and arrival in the Netherlands in 1634, and the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1635, the years 1634–1635 set new records for the publication of news in the Habsburg Netherlands, whether as newspapers, as pamphlets or as prints.

To begin with singles, the years 1634–1635 saw a considerable peak in production, these years combining every circumstance which usually gave rise to the production of news prints and pamphlets: a spectacular assassination (Wallenstein’s), a pitched battle resulting in a Habsburg victory (Nördlingen), the arrival of a new governor-general (the Cardinal-Infant), an imperial election (Ferdinand III as king of the Romans), a royal wedding (the emperor’s daughter Maria Anna to the elector of Bavaria), a declaration of war (France’s against Spain), a major peace treaty (the Peace of Prague), and the raising of a siege on a major city (Leuven, one of the four chief cities of Brabant). Reports, narrations, celebrations, manifestos and counter-manifestos abounded. Added to this was the peculiar publicity given to the taking and sack of the small town of Tienen by the Franco-Dutch alliance, successfully giving the impression that France’s entry into the war in the Netherlands occasioned atrocities of the most brutal and sacrilegious kind.

The explosion of news printing reflects not only the confluence of major events during the years in question, but also the concern of the government to encourage public expressions of loyalty. The conspiracy of 1632 may have failed, but it remained a powerful sign of the extent to which the dynasty had lost its authority among leading figures at court and in provincial life. Even the duke of Aarschot, who had known of the conspiracy, had failed to denounce it.<sup>18</sup> As most of the conspirators had failed to act, the authorities long remained

16 Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 92–94.

17 John Pory to John Scudamore, 27 Oct. 1632 o.s., in Powell (ed.), *John Pory*, p. 314. Pory’s remarks on the failure of the Antwerp posts, quoted on pp. 47–48 above, also date from 1632.

18 *Copie vanden Brief van syne Coninghlycke Majesteyt van Spaegniën, gheschreven aen de Heeren Staten Generael van syne gehoorsame Provintien, nopende de Vergaderinghe tot*

in ignorance of their identities and precise intentions, so almost every major figure in public life was suspect. At the same time, leading Spaniards had shown themselves incompetent and unable to command the respect of the people. The arrival of the Cardinal-Infant, to provide focus and direction to the court and the councils, had become a matter of urgency. The perceived need to meet the crisis of authority meant that Don Ferdinand's instructions, drawn up in 1632, gave him much wider powers than any subsequent governor-general was to exercise.<sup>19</sup>

When Don Ferdinand did arrive, both court and councils were reconstituted. At court, the local nobility was set aside almost entirely. The personnel of the royal councils was far less altered, but Don Ferdinand's initial backing of Pierre Roose ensured fundamental institutional reform. The instructions drawn up for Don Ferdinand in 1632 were paralleled by orders, drafted by a *junta* of which Roose was a prominent member, clarifying the purpose and powers of the Privy Council and the Council of Finance on the basis of their sixteenth-century instructions.<sup>20</sup> The importance of the Council of State was reduced and as its noble members died off they were replaced only by jurists; the bureaucratic procedure of written consultations and orders was made uniform and universal, and the presidency of the Privy Council became the co-ordinating position in the system of councils and committees.<sup>21</sup> Roose arrived in Brussels in November 1632. After a brief power struggle with Ferdinand de Boisshot, most senior councillor of state and a creature of the Infanta herself, he emerged as the key figure in civilian government, which he was to remain for almost twenty years.<sup>22</sup>

When the cardinal-infant finally did arrive, in November 1634, it was the first occasion for the political theatre of solemn entries since those of the sovereign archdukes thirty-odd years before. As in 1599–1600 every town appointed commissioners to organise the affair. A messianic tone runs through many of the pamphlets celebrating Don Ferdinand's entries. With the imminence of his arrival regularly reported in the press from 1629 onwards, not just by Verhoeven

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*Brussel op den Handel van Treves: Midtsgaders om wat oorsake den Hertogh van Arschot met syn by-hebbende Swijte tot Madrid in apprehentie is ghenomen* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1634), sig A3r-v.

19 Hugo De Schepper & René Vermeir, 'Landvoogd—Gouverneur-Generaal', in *Centrale Overheidsinstellingen*, edited by E. Aerts et al. (Brussels, 1994), p. 205.

20 H. De Schepper, 'De institutionele hervormingen van 1632 in de regering van de Koninklijke Nederlanden', in *Liber amicorum John Gilissen* (Antwerp, 1983), pp. 90–91.

21 De Schepper, 'institutionele hervormingen', *passim*.

22 P. Alexandre, *Histoire du Conseil Privé dans les anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1895), pp. 209–210.

but across Europe, he was very much one whose coming was foretold.<sup>23</sup> The successes made possible by the campaign of 1634 added to the messianic image of Don Ferdinand. The renewed hope brought by these victories, combined with the coolness of the Dutch in the peace talks and their perfidy regarding promises of toleration made to the Catholics of the conquered towns of Brabant and Limburg, seemed for the time-being to silence the rhetoric of peace.

Pierre Roose's concern about public opinion with regard to the war with France was such that he went to some lengths to convince Cornelius Jansenius to interrupt his scholarly activity to write a pamphlet, entitled *Mars Gallicus*, denouncing the moral and legal underpinnings of the French declaration of war. He was also an active collaborator in the production of the work.<sup>24</sup> Jansenius was not the only professor to become involved in the propaganda war at this stage. Nicolaus Vernulaeus, historiographer royal by archducal appointment, fulfilled his appointed task with the *Apologia pro Augustissima, serenissima et potentissima gente Austriaca* (1635), an apologia for Habsburg dynastic policies, the *Dissertatio oratoria de causa belli Germanici* (1635) on what was at stake in the war in Germany, and the *Dissertatio oratoria de causis occupatae a Francis Lotharingiae* (1636) on the occupation of Lorraine; Erycius Puteanus, historiographer royal by appointment of Philip III, did likewise with his *Historiae Belgicae liber singularis de obsidione Lovaniensi* (1636) on the siege of Leuven.<sup>25</sup> In Spain too, key opinion-brokers such as José Pellicer y Tovar, Cronista Mayor del Reino de Castilla, turned out numerous works against the French in what seems to have been an orchestrated campaign.<sup>26</sup> The publishing boom of the mid to late 1630s was at least in part a response to the government's requirements.

As has been mentioned, the sack of Tienen on 9 June was given unusually extensive press coverage for a military setback. The theme of all this coverage was that of cruelty, and the relevance to French propaganda was made quite explicit in some cases:

these are those French, who publish in their manifestos, that they send troops into our provinces to deliver us from the oppression of the

23 E.g. 'Heere is much adoe, touching the praeparation off the Kings brothers voyage', Madrid (25 Jan.), *The last weekes Letters* (n.p.d. [1633]), in Dahl, *English Corantos*, Fig. 16 (facing p. 283).

24 Albert De Meyer, 'Jansenius et Roose, auteurs du "Mars gallicus"', in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leon van der Essen*, vol. 2 (Brussels & Paris, 1947), pp. 831–836.

25 In 1638 or 1639 Vernulaeus was granted the additional title 'historiographus caesareus' by Ferdinand III. See Depuydt, 'Nicolaus Vernulaeus', pp. 31–32.

26 José M. Jover, 1635. *Historia de una polémica* (Madrid, 1949), *passim*.



Spaniards, & they are the first to enter into our towns, sword in one hand and torch in the other, to burn our churches & our towns, & bloody our villages & fields.<sup>27</sup>

The same loyalist pamphleteer claimed that the King of France had sent Huguenots to ravage the Netherlands, implying that his Catholic subjects were too reluctant to take up arms in so unjust a cause.<sup>28</sup> An eyewitness reported that in the course of the sack of Tienen French officers twice drew swords on their Dutch allies to secure the safety of nuns, but even though such details suggested some of the strains in the Franco-Dutch alliance, they were not the sort of thing which came into print.<sup>29</sup> Instead, the French soldiery were to be painted not as Holland's reluctant allies, but as the driving force behind renewed atrocity.<sup>30</sup> By a rhetorical identification, the rapes accompanying the sack of Tienen became the Rape of Tienen, a violated community personified.<sup>31</sup>

The relief of Leuven on 4 July was an occasion not just for the usual celebratory pamphlet or two: as the home of the mother university of the Netherlands, the town had a special importance for almost everybody in literary and public life. This was also the first setback to the new French-Dutch alliance. Pamphleteers turned out all the obvious jokes along the lines of Doctors of the Sorbonne not being intelligent enough to make themselves Masters of Leuven, or that if the French could not take a university by force, they would hardly manage a fort.<sup>32</sup> Nearly all the pamphlets contrasted the rape of Tienen with

27 'ce sont ces François, qui publient dans leurs manifestes, qu'ils font entrer des troupes dedans ces Provinces, pour te delivrer de l'oppression des Espagnols, & ce sont les premiers qui entrent dans nos villes, l'espée en une main, & le flambeau en l'autre, pour brusler nos Eglises, & nos Villes, & ensanglanter nos Villages & Campagnes', *Relation veritable de ce qui s'est passé en la ville de Tillemont* (n.p., 1635), p. 13.

28 Op. cit., p. 4; also *Rym-dicht ter eeren die Maeght Loven* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, 1635), p. 6.

29 Anna Wielant, *Gedenck-weerdige Avonturen, Alteracien, ende verstroyingen, jae Martelie, en verwoestinge, die de Annunciaten binnen Thienen hebben geleden vande Geuzen A°. 1635*, ed. Ari Tuerlinckx & Rik Poulman (Tienen, 1982), pp. 11, 22.

30 The enduring historiographical impact of these atrocity pamphlets is mentioned in L. van Buyten, 'De veldtocht van 1635', *Spiegel Historiae* 3 (1968), p. 424. The Duke of Chatillon had in fact commanded French troops in Dutch service since 1622, so in a sense French involvement in the war was nothing new.

31 E.g. in *Een droevigh beklagh van een Thiensche Maeght Over die Tiranny van de Fransoisen ende Hollanders, Alle hun schelmstucken verhalende met bloedighe tranen* (n.p., 1635).

32 The contrast of the scholar and the soldier was almost as much of a commonplace in rhetoric as that of the peasant and the soldier (see Richard A. Lanham, *Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley, 1969), p. 110).

the preserved virginity of Leuven.<sup>33</sup> Others spoke in terms of Frederick Henry's rough wooing being spurned.<sup>34</sup> The Jesuit versifier Adriaan Poirters, writing under the pen-name 'Vrijt noyt boven uwen staet' (Never court above your state), cast the learned virgin Leuven as Minerva defeating Mars.<sup>35</sup>

The final pamphlet-worthy event of the campaign was the Cardinal-Infant's counter-attack, culminating on 27 July in the taking of Schenkenschans (Fort Schenk), a strategic river fortress on the Rhine that Olivares considered 'worth ten other forts'.<sup>36</sup> According to one pamphleteer's conceit, the 'schenk' (gift) of a pair of glasses enabled the Cardinal Infant to see far into the eastern provinces of the Republic and along the Rhine,<sup>37</sup> while another wrote of the 'vette schencken' (juicy ham) which had been gained: not only the fort itself, but the resulting ability to levy contributions in the Betuwe.<sup>38</sup> The whole campaign of 1635 was an occasion for every excess of baroque journalism.

The pamphlets not only discussed events in the Habsburg Netherlands, but also in Holland and France, in the French case especially the revolts precipitated by the war taxes introduced by Richelieu, for example:<sup>39</sup>

From Paris we understand that there are great disturbances in France because of the duties that were to be introduced in Languedoc, Guyenne,

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- 33 E.g. *Den ombyt van Loven* (n.p.d.); *Rym-dicht ter Eeren die Maeght Loven* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, n.d. [1635]).
  - 34 Most notably *Triomphe Voor de Maeght van Loven* (n.p.d.).
  - 35 *Geus-Francen Haes-op voor de Maeghdelijcke Stadt Loven Den derden Julio seshien hondert vyf-en-dertigh* (n.p.d.).
  - 36 Olivares to Roose, 17 Nov. 1635, quoted in René Vermeir, *In Staat van Oorlog: Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629–1648* (Maastricht, 2001), pp. 120–121.
  - 37 *Den Brill op de neus vereert aenden Prince Cardinael* (n.p.d.).
  - 38 *De Vette Schencken Die welcke den Prince Cardinael ghevonden heeft* (n.p.d.); contribution was also the theme of *Den Dans vande Schencke-Schans die de Crauwatten dansen inde Betuwe* (n.p.d.), and *T'saemenspraekinghe tusschen den Borgher van Amsterdam ende den Boer uyt de Betuwe* (n.p.d.).
  - 39 'De Paris nous apprenons qu'il y a de grandes troubles en France, pour les gabelles qe l'on veut establir en Languedoc, Guienne, Angoumois, Aulnis; & comme les Commissaires vouloyent faire leurs bureaux sur la Garonne, & commencer par la ville de Agen, ils y ont esté massacrez, avec ceux qui adheroyent audict establissement. [...] Il y a eu aussi quelque revolte populaire à Paris, Orleans, Blois, Tours, Angers & Nantes; comme aussi a Bourge, Nevers, Moulins & Authun'. *Nouvelles de plusieurs endroicts de l'Europe* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635), sig. A2v. On the massacre at Agen, see William Beik, *Urban Protest* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 63–71. The same news was reported in *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyden quartieren van Europa, ghekomen tot Brussel Tzedert den 18. tot den 23. Julii 1635* (Brussels, Widow Mommaert, 1635).

Angoumois, Aulnis; and as the commissioners wished to put their offices on the Garonne, and begin with the town of Agen, they were massacred, with those belonging to the said establishment. [...] There have also been popular uprisings in Paris, Orleans, Blois, Tours, Angers, and Nantes; as also in Bourges, Nevers, Moulins and Autun.

Such revolts may have been rooted in local grievances and crowd psychology,<sup>40</sup> but they were newsworthy events because, filtered through the perceptions of newswriters, they were integrated into a political or factional understanding of power relations and became part of the intricate web of Europe-wide political calculation.

Some indication has already been given of awareness of French and Dutch propaganda in the loyalist pamphlets produced in the Habsburg Netherlands, but this went much further. It might be worth taking a closer look at these particular pamphlets, for what they say about the expected reactions to news and attitudes to enemy propagandists. Many of the jokes presuppose some awareness of the French gazeteer Théophraste Renaudot, of the Amsterdam publishers Broer Janszoon, his son Joost Broerszoon (who set up in business in 1634), and Jan Van Hilten, and of the sort of news and views they printed. A false address in Amsterdam, 'Limping Joosken, sworn printer of bad news', was a reference to Joost Broerszoon.<sup>41</sup> Mathieu de Morgues attacked Renaudot personally in his *Satyre d'Estat*, and in *L'Ambassadeur chimerique* Richelieu's 'Academie Gazetique' more broadly, a whole propaganda network of hireling newswriters and panegyrists. Both these pamphlets were published without address in 1635.<sup>42</sup>

One pamphlet took the ironic form of a French celebration of non-existent victories: *Relation veritable des hauts faites d'armes des Mareschaux de France Chastillon & Brezé en la conquête du Pays Brabant és mois de Iuin, & Iuillet 1635* (printed with neither address nor date). The last few pages of this pamphlet, the 'Catalogue of some new Books on matter of state', satirizes Richelieu's panegyrists with such fictitious titles as 'Le Pair de France sans pair, ou parallele des Roys, Empereurs, Princes & grands Capitaines'.<sup>43</sup> 'Broer Janss. gazetiere'

40 Beik, *Urban Protest*, pp. 49–51, 197–198.

41 'manck Joosken, gheswooren Drucker vande quade tydinghen', *Die Blauwe Scheen die ghestooten heeft den Prince van Oranien in sijne vryagie van Brabant* (n.p., 1635).

42 On Richelieu's propaganda machine, see Étienne Thuau, *Raison d'État et pensée politique à l'époque de Richelieu* (Paris, 1966).

43 Making game of works such as *Panegyricus Eminentissimo Cardinali, Serenissimo Duci, Armando Joanni Plessiaco, Richelii Toparchae, Patri Patriae, Consecratus* (Paris, Sebastian Cramoisy, 1634).

also comes in for mockery, and finally there are such quips as a treatise on a 'Question of Agriculture: whether it is true, as those of Holland maintain, that the soil of Brabant is well suited to the growing of Oranges and fleurs de Lys?'<sup>44</sup> Another work of explicit counter-propaganda was the comparison of anti-Habsburg prognostications with the actual course of the campaign, already mentioned above.<sup>45</sup>

Most interesting of all is a pamphlet that takes the form of a dialogue between three Dutchmen—a Gomarist, an Arminian and a Mennonite—reading out the latest reports of the campaign to one another.<sup>46</sup> They begin taking a stroll, when the Mennonite exclaims, 'See the crowds of people, I think they are buying Corantoës.'<sup>47</sup> The Gomarist's response is 'I have to read the latest Coranto, or I cannot be at ease, I am sure the News will be that our Prince is at Brussels [...]. Who would sit at home, when here we can hear how the country's affairs progress?'<sup>48</sup> News of the sack of Tienen is read, and he rejoices, but the Arminian is less enthusiastic, questioning the effectiveness of cruelty in winning the population to the Prince's side. The Gomarist dismisses such doubts by stating that cowing the population is as good as winning it. At news that Leuven was besieged, they check the date of the report (24 June), and then calculate how far the army will have progressed if Leuven fell within a day, as was to be expected of a poorly fortified university town (page 6). When the Arminian reads a later report that Leuven was resisting, he qualifies it with the statement, 'But this was surely written by a Papist'.<sup>49</sup> The Gomarist agrees, citing a report from Tervuren that Leuven had already fallen as being undoubtedly more accurate, and the Arminian offers two-to-one that the Prince is already in Brussels. When the Arminian reads an even more recent report from Brussels, that the Dutch army has abandoned the siege of Leuven and is pulling back to Aarschot, the report is again dismissed as being written in bad faith, inspired by envy of the Dutch advances (page 7). Finally, the Mennonite cites reports confirming the retreat from Leuven, the Arminian has to admit that 'Bad news is always true', and the crowd drifts apart in disappointment.<sup>50</sup>

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44 pp. 20–23.

45 See p. 70 above.

46 *Het Geusen-gheschreeuw* (n.p.d.).

47 'Siet de lieden staen op hoopen/My dunckt sy nieuwe Tydingh coopen' (p. 3).

48 'De nieuwe Tydingh moet ick lesen/Oft ick can niet gherust ghewesen/Die Tydingh seght oock wel gis/Dat onsen *Prins te Brussel* is, [...] Wie wou nu t'huys soo sitten siene/Als wy hier soo lustigh hooren/Hoe s'Landts saecken gaen te voeren' (p. 3).

49 'Maer dat heeft een Papist geschreven' (p. 7).

50 'Quade tijdinghe is altijd waer' (p. 8).

Although the verse dialogue is entirely stylised and the dominant tone is heavy irony at the expense of straw men, the social and psychological assumptions of the pamphlet ring true: the public and social aspects of reading the news, with running commentary and discussion, and the laying of bets; the balance of patriotic curiosity and personal interests (the sabre-rattling Gomarist hopes that the Prince's conquest of Brabant will create an opening for his son in the reformed administration); the collective exercising of common-sense critical faculties, with the calculation of likely outcomes and possible developments during the time-lag between writing and reception, the interplay of the calculation of known bias and the tug of one's own prejudices, and the rule of thumb that news of defeat is true when publicised by one's own side. Exactly the same sort of conversation can be imagined in any place where newspapers were read; there are, indeed, numerous echoes in John Pory's description of the initial London reactions to news of Gustavus Adolphus's death.<sup>51</sup>

### Newspapers in the Habsburg Netherlands

Verhoeven's fall had left a gap in the market at Antwerp, and one sign that his *Tijdinghen* had answered a real need was the rapidity with which two printers sought to replace him. In the event, the Verhoeven monopoly lapsed and both rival newspapers began publication. At the same time, others moved into the market for the style of fine news print with which Verhoeven had launched his career in 1605, most notably Jacob Mesens and Pierre Verbiest.<sup>52</sup> There is no record of Verdussen's licence for the *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghen*, but on 22 November 1635 Martin Binnart paid £2 5s. for the registration of his octrooi 'om die gasetten ende nieuwe tijdingen te drucken'.<sup>53</sup> Both of the new newspapers were very different from the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, or even the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen*. The format and appearance were almost exactly those of the Dutch newspapers: a handbill printed on each side with two columns of small blackletter type. While there may have been stylistic reasons for this, the most obvious explanation is economic: this was a format that saved paper, and the

51 Powell, *John Pory*, pp. 333–339.

52 Mesens with, e.g., *Corte ende waerachtighe beschrijvinghe van het Fort van Schencken-Schans*.

53 'To print gazettes and news reports'. ARB, Rekenkamer, 20805, fo. 192v. Unfortunately the licence itself, inventoried by Micheline Soenen in 1983, has since disappeared from the archive of the Privy Council.

greatest exporter of paper to the Habsburg Netherlands was France. If the Mantuan war had caused the costs of transporting paper from France to increase, the beginning of open war with France in 1635 sent prices soaring.

Willem Verdussen was a son of Jerome Verdussen the Elder. In 1635 he inherited the shop *In de X Geboden* ('In the Ten Commandments') on the Cathedral Churchyard or *Groenplaats*, a location for news publishing since at least 1585. The size and success of the Verdussen dynasty in the publishing market, second only to the Moretuses of the Plantin Office, led to their ownership of a number of printing and bookselling establishments and several other properties in the city.<sup>54</sup> Unlike Verhoeven, the family was active in the corporate life of the city, taking positions of responsibility in the Guild of St Luke, serving in a militia guild, acting on behalf of orphans in the *weeskamer*, and promoting the city's social cohesion and cultural profile through membership of the chambers of rhetoric. The Verdussens and their brother-in-law Willem Lesteens (husband of Maria Verdussen) together accounted for much of the vernacular output of the Antwerp humanists, whose serious scholarly works still went to the Plantin Office or, increasingly, to Leiden or Cologne.

Willem Verdussen became a member of the Guild of St Luke in 1613.<sup>55</sup> In 1634 he applied for a licence to print newspapers, stressing that he was 'daily importuned by diverse merchants to print the Gazettes' due to the commercial utility of such a source of public news.<sup>56</sup> The licence was perhaps granted some time before April 1635, when the first issue of his newspaper was probably printed.

The *Extraordinarisse Posttjdinghen* began publication in March or April 1635. For the entire period 1635–1661 thirty-eight issues survive, two thirds of these from 1645 alone, with a total of 384 reports. The oldest surviving issue is 1635 no. 14, printed on 8 June. The numbering of issues in 1635 suggests that the rhythm of printing was erratic, perhaps due to Verdussen still finding his feet. In June, for example, issue no. 14 appeared on the Friday of the first week of the month, no. 16 on the Tuesday of the third and no. 19 on the Thursday of the fourth (the Friday was SS Peter & Paul): the lost numbers 15, 17 and 18 fit neither a weekly nor a twice-weekly pattern. The same is true of the rest of the year. By 1645, for which year a much more substantial run survives, things had settled into a regular pattern: even numbers appeared on Tuesdays or Wednesdays, odd numbers on Fridays. Unlike Verhoeven, Verdussen did not begin each

54 SAA, Genealogisch Fonds, 160–166, archieven Verdussen 1547–1811.

55 Rombouts & Van Lerijs, *Liggeren*, vol. 1, p. 495.

56 'daghelijcks gheimportuneert wort van diversche cooplieden om te drucken de Gazetten'. Van Laerhoven, p. 217.

calendar year with an issue numbered ‘1’ and run through to the end of the year reaching whatever the total came to (179 in 1622, 141 in 1623). Instead, he adopted the far less common method of beginning at one with the first issue ever printed and numbering continuously, irrespective of the date, to number 100, then beginning again at one—so in 1645 the first issue of the year (now lost) was probably no. 28, one no. 29 appeared on 7 January; the numbering reached 100 and went back to one in the second week of September, and another no. 29 (now lost) appeared probably on 22 December.

As ever, a high proportion of the 384 reports in surviving issues from 1645 came from relatively few sources, but the patchiness of survival makes any reconstruction of the rhythms and patterns of correspondence difficult. All that can be said is that Vienna, Venice, Leipzig, Dunkirk, Prague, Hamburg, Rome and Milan together account for over a third of the reports (136), while Lyon, Regensburg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Frankfurt, The Hague, Brussels and the Army of Flanders account for another sixth (59)—all together just over half the total. The rest mostly came from a variety of places in Germany and the Low Countries, with clusters of reports from England and the Austrian Habsburg lands. The dominance of German sources is remarkable, and if it was as pronounced in the lost issues may reflect a personal or linguistic bias. Even the reports from France seem to have come from Lyon through the Rhineland, rather than by the more direct route from Paris through Brussels, even though it was not until 1646 that the French authorities again suspended the passports for postal carriers.<sup>57</sup>

Without adopting Verhoeven’s overtly polemical stance, the emphasis of reports was Catholic and pro-Habsburg. One issue bears the manuscript annotation of a disgusted Dutch Protestant: ‘by this and in general one can see how the Catholic Spanishly affected (for lack of truth) have to make do with lies: & that by privilege’.<sup>58</sup> The *Extraordinarisse Posttjdinghen* was not remarkable for its unreliability, certainly not in that particular issue, and the note in question says as much about the bias of the reader as of the editor.

Martin Binnart, according to the declaration he made when acquiring citizenship of Antwerp in 1641, was born in Eisenach, in Ducal Saxony.<sup>59</sup> By the

57 Baetens, *Nazomer*, vol. 1 (1976), p. 95. The posts had formerly been suspended 1635–1637 (Jan Van Laerhoven, ‘De “Extraordinarisse Post-tjdinghen” van Willem Verdussen (1635–1695)’, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 55 (1972), p. 215).

58 ‘hierbij ende meest deurgaans can men sien hoe sich de Cathol. Spaans gesinden (bij gebrek van waarheijt) mit leugens moeten behelpen: & dat met privilegien’. *EPT* 1635 no. 18 (28 June).

59 SAA, Vierschaar 156, fo. 13.

1620s he was living in Antwerp, initially working as a proofreader in the Plantin Office. He had two children baptised in Antwerp cathedral, Jeanne (7 August 1627), with Jerome Verdussen as godfather, and Martin (27 January 1630) with Verhoeven's wife, Suzanna Spierinckx, as godmother.<sup>60</sup> This gives some idea of how close the small professional world of Antwerp news publishing was. Relations between Binnart and the Verdussens seem to have been rather closer than between the Verdussens and Verhoeven. In 1635, when both Binnart and Willem were applying for licenses to print newspapers, Jerome Verdussen printed the second edition of Binnart's *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, which had first appeared in the early 1620s.<sup>61</sup> It became the standard Dutch-Latin dictionary for the rest of the seventeenth century, being reprinted twice in his lifetime, and in at least twenty-four editions, at Antwerp, Amsterdam and Utrecht, after his death.<sup>62</sup> In the year 1634–35, Binnart joined the Guild of St Luke as a bookseller, and on 21 April 1640 he had credit enough to open an account at the Plantin office, buying the liturgical works on which the office had a monopoly, and paying for them with copies of his dictionary (but never his newspaper).<sup>63</sup>

On 20 May 1635 he submitted his application to the Council of Brabant for a licence to print newspapers, and this was eventually issued on 22 November.<sup>64</sup> In the request he stated that he had Catholic correspondents in Vienna, Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Münster and Paris, and in 1648 he explicitly stated that many of them were postmasters, presumably those of the Tassis post offices in these cities.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that there were also less Catholic correspondents whom he felt it wiser to leave unmentioned, although he does come across as very Catholic in his editorial stance.<sup>66</sup> Binnart's list of his initial core correspondence in 1635 does not entirely match the pattern in the only

60 *NBW*, 5 (1972), col. 74–76.

61 The sole surviving copy of the first edition, in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, is defective.

62 F. Claes, 'Het woordenboek van Martin Binnart', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 88 (1972), pp. 270–272.

63 MPM, Arch. 739, Livre de Libraires d'Anvers Signe II, 1636–1644, fo. 211; Arch. 740, Livre de Libraires d'Anvers Signe KK, 1644–1655, fo. 111.

64 ARB, Rekenkamer 20805 (Ontfanck van het recht vande segel van Brabant, 1635–1637), fo. 192v; M. Soenen, *Inventaire analytique des documents relatifs à l'impression* (Brussels, 1983), p. 114.

65 Theo Luykx, 'De eerste gazettiers en hun kranten in de Spaanse Nederlanden', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* 18 (1964), p. 246.

66 For an example, see note 178 below.



year with substantial survivals, 1639, but there are certain continuities. His main sources were clearly the German postmasters and newswriters, and he made much greater use of reports from his home town of Eisenach than any other newspaper editor of the period. This personal link gave Antwerp readers regular access to one of the more obscure Saxon newswriting centres. Direct reports from France or Italy were less common, and, with the exception of Lyon, were limited to the cities with a Tassis post office: Paris, Venice, Milan, Rome. No direct reports from England and Spain survive. The 'postal' bias of Binnart's reports is very clear, and the pattern of correspondence is very close to that which was to be found in Germany.

In his licence application, Verdussen emphasized the desire of Antwerp's merchants to pool their intelligence and gave his newspaper the title 'Extraordinary post reports', while Binnart emphasized his correspondence network of Catholic postmasters and used the title 'Ordinary postman'—it seems possible that the newspapers, so similar in Habsburg-Catholic editorial emphasis, differentiated themselves in the marketplace by Verdussen providing a forum for merchants to share chance information and special reports, while Binnart relied mostly on the semi-public newsletters circulated by the Tassis postal system.

Binnart printed two titles out of his shop: the Dutch-language *Ordinarissen Postilioen* and the French-language *Postillion ordinaire*. Both were printed on a single sheet in two columns, the *Postilioen* in blackletter type with roman datelines, the *Postillion* in roman with italic datelines. The *Postilioen* used a 'below the line' system for 'breaking news' and incoming reports of more doubtful veracity, which would have been familiar to readers of the Dutch corantos; the *Postillion* did not, and usually printed the same news one or even two weeks later, while being earlier with other reports, giving a curious 'leapfrog' effect to the news in the different series.

The last surviving copy of *Den Ordinarissen Postilioen* is dated 9 February 1650,<sup>67</sup> but after Binnart's death the licence was renewed by his widow in 1658, and again by his children in 1668, for a period of ten years. In 1674 Peter Verdussen (having succeeded Willem in 1661) applied to the Officer Fiscal of Brabant to suppress the newspaper of the heirs of Martin Binnart as being in contravention of his own octrooi; but the Binnarts demonstrated that their licence was as valid as Verdussen's and still had four more years to run.<sup>68</sup>

67 *Ordinarissen Postilioen* 1650 no. 11 (9 Feb.) is among the newspapers in the Piccolomini family archive in the State Archives, Zámrsrk. See Zdenek Simeček, 'The First Brussels, Antwerp and Amsterdam Newspapers: Additional Information', *BTFG* 50:4 (1972), p. 1113.

68 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5883: 190 no. 43.

There is, however, no record of the licence being renewed further in or after 1678, the date of the last surviving issue of *Le Postillion ordinaire*.<sup>69</sup> The few surviving issues (renumbered from 1 at the beginning of each year, unlike Verdussen's system) again seem to indicate twice-weekly publication, on Tuesday or Wednesday and on Saturday. That Verhoeven, Verdussen and Binnart all favoured this rhythm suggests that Antwerp's market days were an important element in their calculations, but may also reflect the days of weekly international postal deliveries.

Antwerp was not the only city to see a flowering of news publishing in the 1630s. The oldest surviving issue of a newspaper from Bruges is dated 1637, but as it was printed without a licence there is no way of dating the actual commencement of publication. It bore the title *Nieuwe tydinghen uyt verscheyde ghewesten*, 'News reports from diverse parts', with the subtitle 'Inhoudt van bysondere Brieven dese Weke te Brugghe aengebracht' (Contents of exceptional Letters brought to Bruges this Week). It was printed by Nicolaas Breyghel, who had learnt the trade in Antwerp and moved to Bruges in 1624. He would certainly have been aware of Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, but his paper was closer in style to those of Binnart and Verdussen.

Breyghel's *Tydinghen* was unlicensed and hence an entirely illegal publication: it is possible that the printer may have been chary of central-government licensing after finding himself the victim of an ecclesiastical-political feud. In January 1631 Breyghel had applied for a Privy Council licence to print a life of St Catherine of Siena, a life of the virgin martyr St Godeleva, and an *Examen questionis* on the active and contemplative lives written by the abbot of Sint-Andries.<sup>70</sup> The context was clearly meant to suggest that all three were devotional works that could be licensed without close enquiry, which is precisely what occurred. Only after complaints from the Procurator of the Flemish Jesuits did it become apparent that the *Examen questionis* was an ecclesiastical polemic, a monastic attack on the Jesuit style of life, which the Privy Council decided to ban despite the earlier licence.<sup>71</sup> This underhand attempt to gain legal protection for a controversial work was the only licence application Breyghel submitted to the Privy Council in a printing career spanning thirty years or more.

69 Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journaux 1600–1789* (Paris & Oxford, 1991), p. 1027.

70 ARB, GRSP, 1278/57.

71 ARB, GRSP, 1278/199. Henricus vanden Zype, *Examen Quaestionis, an magis expedit devotam in mundo, quam religiosam in monasterio vitam agere* (Bruges, Nicolaas Breyghel, 1631). The work had three nihil obstats, one from the archpriest of Bruges, one from a canon of Bruges cathedral, and another from a licentiate of Sacred Theology.

Despite this disregard for the legal formalities, Breyghel's surviving works can hardly be described as disloyal or disruptive. One of the first works he printed was Olivier De Wree's *Vermaerde Oorlogh-stucken vanden wonderdighen velt-heer Carel de Longueval* (1625), a panegyric for Bucquoy similar to those that Verhoeven printed for Spinola, with a dedication to the 'courageous Netherlandish bravehearts who for God, King, Faith and Fatherland risk their Goods, Blood, Body and Life' and a *nihil obstat* from the Archdeacon of Bruges.<sup>72</sup> Although not formally licensed, the *Nieuwe tydinghen uyt verscheyde ghewesten* seems to have enjoyed the protection of the local authorities in Bruges, and was apparently published primarily for local businessmen, although professionals and clergymen were presumably also among the readership. Details of prizes and cargoes to be sold in Dunkirk were no more than war news in Antwerp, where they usually appeared in the newspapers too late for potential purchasers to take advantage of the news. This was not true of the news from Dunkirk printed by Breyghel, which appeared early enough to be considered advertising for the sales. The editorial stance, in so far as one is apparent at all in this remarkably apolitical newspaper, was Catholic and loyalist.

The relative decline of Bruges after its late-medieval heyday as northern Europe's commercial metropolis has led to some neglect of the city's later history. Not only did it continue to be an important local centre in the county of Flanders, in the early seventeenth century it even recovered a little of its former glory. Holland and Zeeland were not the only beneficiaries of the closing of the Scheldt, for the revived trade from Italy and Spain through the coastal towns of Flanders had Dunkirk as its main port, and Bruges as its immediate entrepôt.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the period, the canal system of Flanders was extended to exploit and enhance the opportunities created by this trade.<sup>74</sup> In terms of population and industrial production, by the middle years of the truce Bruges had recovered the position it had held in the mid-1570s, and retained it, occasional slumps notwithstanding, to the end of the century, when it began to expand.<sup>75</sup>

72 'Aen de hoogh-ghemoede Nederlantsche Adelporsten die voor Godt, Coningh, Gheloove, en Vaderlandt, hun Goet, Bloet, Lijf en Leven te pande stellen'.

73 See A. Gielens, 'Onderhandelingen met Zeeland over de opening der Schelde, 1612–1613', *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2de reeks, 6:3 (1931), pp. 194–199, esp. p. 195.

74 A.W. Skempton, 'Canals and River Navigations before 1750', in *History of Technology*, edited by Charles Singer et al., vol. 3 (Oxford, 1957), p. 453.

75 J. Vermaut, 'Structural Transformation in a Textile Centre', in Van der Wee, *Rise and Decline*, pp. 192–197.

Nor had the decline of Bruges as an international centre of trade ever been complete: although most foreign merchants had moved to Antwerp in the course of the sixteenth century, the Nation of Castile maintained its office in Bruges throughout the early modern period, the importance of the Flemish cloth industry as a market for Spanish wool outweighing the attractions of Antwerp even at the height of its prosperity.<sup>76</sup> As was noted above, it was the need of the Spaniards in Bruges to keep abreast of prices on the Antwerp exchange that provides the main evidence for the early existence of Antwerp's commodity price current. The continuing presence of Spaniards in Bruges perhaps explains Breyghel's engagement with Iberian polemics. In 1643 he printed an *Anti-manifiesto o verdadera declaración del derecho de los señores reyes de Castilla a Portugal* by Antonio de Fuertes y Biota, Aragonese professor of canon law at Bologna,<sup>77</sup> as well as a *De Successione Regni Portugalliae Dissertatio Juridica*, an anonymous work, the author identified only as an English doctor of civil law with the initials R.H., but with the dedication signed by the Franciscan Fr Angelus a Sancto Francisco, and the licence made out to Guilielmus Roose, merchant of Nieuwpoort. In 1661 Breyghel printed a pamphlet dialogue on the marriage of Charles II of England to 'the daughter of the Duke of Braganza, called King of Portugal': *t'Samen-spraeck tusschen een Portugees ende een Spanjaert* (Dialogue between a Portuguese and a Spaniard).

Like Antwerp, Bruges was in the front line of the war against the Republic, and had its defences probed by the army of the States operating from 'Zeeuws Vlaanderen' several times in the second phase of the war. The city's strategic and economic importance for the Flemish coast and the western estuary of the Scheldt were matched by its political role as one of the 'four members' of the States of Flanders, the other three being the cities of Ghent and Ypres and the rural 'Liberty of Bruges'. Compared to Antwerp and Brussels, however, Bruges was indeed provincial, and this is reflected in the *Nieuwe tydinghen*. Breyghel's correspondence was nothing like as extensive as that of the Antwerp editors, nor as that of the later *Courier véritable des Pays-Bas*. He lacked regular sources in France, the Republic, or the Baltic area, but did provide unusually frequent reports from London even before 1642. Most of the gaps of this network were plugged by the weekly inclusion of a summary of a 'Brusselsche Gazette', which will be discussed below. Like the Dutch editors, Breyghel

76 J. Marechal, 'Le départ de Bruges des marchands étrangers, XVe et XVIe siècles', in *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge: De vreemde kolonies, XIVde-XIXde eeuw* (Bruges, 1985), p. 193.

77 A writer touched on in Xavier Gil, 'Aragonese Constitutionalism and Habsburg Rule: The Varying Meanings of Liberty', in *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic*, ed. Kagan and Parker, pp. 182, 187.

printed news ‘below the line’, but rather than a rag-bag of incoming unconfirmed reports, this was usually confined to the advertisement of forthcoming admiralty auctions in Dunkirk.<sup>78</sup>

The latest edition of Breyghel’s *Nieuwe Tydinghen* mentioned in the literature is from 1647, but the sole edition in the Thurloe papers in the Bodleian is dated 1654, showing that it continued to be printed for some years after the Peace of Münster.<sup>79</sup> The last archival mention of Breyghel came in 1660, when Bruges town council paid him, Alexander Michiels and Lucas Vande Kerckhove for delivering weekly gazettes to the town hall. The next such payment, in 1663, mentions only Michiels and Vande Kerckhove.<sup>80</sup> That Breyghel was still active in 1663 is shown by the imprints of his two latest known works, both published in that year.<sup>81</sup>

In the major French-language printing centres of the Habsburg Netherlands—Brussels, Douai and Lille—a number of printers seem to have begun to specialise in printing news pamphlets in the 1630s, much as Rische and Ballo had done in Antwerp in the 1590s. Whether they also printed newspapers is something of an open question. All that can be said with certainty is that no copies of any newspapers are known to survive.

There is inconclusive evidence suggesting that a gazette may have been published in Brussels in the 1630s and 1640s, prior to the establishment of Pierre Hugonet’s *Courier véritable* in 1649, perhaps printed by the Anthoon-Velpius dynasty or by the Mommaerts. Breyghel’s use of a ‘Brusselsche Gazette’ has already been mentioned, and a similar source was apparently also used by Renaudot, whose *Gazette* began publication in Paris in 1631. The representatives of the Paris printing trade complained in 1634 that Renaudot was not only in breach of their liberties, by publishing despite not being a member of their corporation, but that he was not even the ‘author’ of his gazettes, ‘which are no more than a Translation of those of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Zürich, Venice, Rome and elsewhere, that he receives each week in

78 E.g. ‘Op den 19. Februarii sal de Admiraliteyt tot Duynkercke vercoopen ontrent 3000. rollen S. Christoffels toebac, &c.’, *NTVG* 1643 no. 7 (17 Feb.).

79 *NTVG* 1654 no. 26 (1 July).

80 A. Schouteet, ‘Nieuwsbladen te Brugge in de 17e eeuw’, *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming Société d’Émulation te Brugge* 99 (1962), p. 84.

81 These are a *Tractatus historicus primae originis festivitatis sacratissimi corporis et sanguinis Christi* and the programme for a play about St Ambrose of Milan performed at the Jesuit college on the occasion of the installation of the new bishop of Bruges, *Ambrosius door het bestier van edeldom, wijsheyt, ende deught vervoordert tot het bisdom van Milanen*.

Paris'.<sup>82</sup> While we have seen the international position of the newspapers of Amsterdam, Antwerp, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Zurich, no printed newspapers from Brussels, Rome or Venice survive from the 1630s. This may be because the Brussels gazette in question was a manuscript newspaper.

Claims that there was a newspaper printed at Brussels by Jan Mommaert from the 1610s onwards were put forward by Alphonse Goovaerts and Antoine Seyl, and have been repeated by others.<sup>83</sup> These claims rest solely on the survival of a photograph of the front page of a no longer extant publication dated September 1626 and bearing the number 100: *Récite véritable de l'entreprise faillie. Que les Huguenots avoient conspiré sur les limites de Flandres y pensant emporter Kildraecht mais ont esté constrains de se retirer avecq leurs batteaux. Faicte le 29 d'Aougst 1626*.<sup>84</sup> The dating of a Brussels newspaper under the title *Récite véritable* to the late 1610s is based on the assumption that Mommaert's oldest surviving singles are the beginnings of serial publication, reading the number '100' in 1626 as evidence of a monthly publication. Many of Mommaert's occasionals were, however, reprints of Verhoeven's pamphlets and newspapers, and this is no exception.<sup>85</sup> On 2 September Verhoeven printed *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* 1626 no. 100, *Verhael van den Geusen gefaelgeerden Aenslach op Vlaenderen. Hoe ende in wat manieren de Geusen met veel hondert Schepen voor Kieldrecht sijn ghecomen om te Landen maer hebben met schaden moeten wijcken, ende te rugghe keeren. Gheschiet den 29. Augusti 1626*.

It is not entirely unthinkable that there was a now-lost licensed Brussels newspaper in the period. A licence for news was issued to Widow Anthoon in 1629, and far more singles bearing her imprint survive than bearing Mommaert's. It is conceivable that these are surviving issues of an unnumbered series published by Widow Anthoon and her son, Hubert Anthoon-Velpius, in the 1630s and '40s, but on the whole the evidence does not seem very conclusive. To set against this, there is the lack of any reference to a Brussels newspaper in

82 'n'estant que une Traduction de celle de Amsterdam, Anvers, Bruxelles, Francfort, Ambourg, Zurich, Venise, Rome et autre lieux, qu'en recoit chaque semaine à Paris', quoted in Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth-Century France. The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot* (Princeton, 1972), p. 115 n. 36.

83 Goovaerts and Seyl cited in Lionel Bertelson, *La Presse d'information: Tableau chronologique des journaux belges* (Brussels, 1956), p. 3; Sgard, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1049; Jacques Hellemans, 'L'Apparition des gazettes en Belgique', in *Les Gazettes Européennes de langue française, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Henri Duranton et al. (Saint-Etienne, 1992), pp. 18–19.

84 Formerly preserved in the Institut royal du patrimoine artistique, Brussels.

85 For instance, *Een nieuw waerachtige tydinghe de welcke geschiet is binnen de Stadt van Delft*, n.d. [1616]; *Relation Veritable de la Grande Victoire Obtenue par son Excellence le Comte de Tilly* (1626).

the government archives, whether from the perspective of licensing, of policing or of the Council of State's enquiries into news publishing in 1640 and 1642.<sup>86</sup> The *Courier véritable* (1649) is certainly the oldest Brussels newspaper of which any issue survives, and this was already the case in 1785, before the disruptions of revolution and war.<sup>87</sup> All that can safely be said is that one or more manuscript gazettes were available in Brussels in the years 1631–1645, and the existence of a printed one can neither be demonstrated nor entirely discounted.

The later 1630s saw a considerable increase in current-affairs publishing in French not just in Antwerp and Brussels but also in Douai and Lille. Douai was the home of the second university of the Netherlands, founded in 1563, and a major centre for academic and devotional printing. News publications from Douai are, however, quite rare. In April 1635 and September 1636, Marie Vander Piet, widow of Marc Wyon, was printing pamphlets in Douai that bore all the stylistic marks of 'newsbook' newspapers but for the lack of dates, numbers or a running title to give some evidence of periodicity or continuity.<sup>88</sup> Widow Wyon's name appears in regulatory documents from 1631 to 1638, including charges of unlicensed printing and, on 27 September 1638, the rejection of an application for the monopoly on French-language 'gazettes et semblables nouveautez'.<sup>89</sup> One suspects she may have indulged in quite extensive news printing for the local market before trying to gain some legitimate standing with a licence application, but again lack of evidence precludes any more positive statement.

Lille had no university or cathedral, but it was more than a provincial market town. It was home to the Governance of Walloon Flanders and to a Chamber of Accounts, as well as to a number of considerable merchant houses, some with agents 'at Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Toulouse, Lisbon, Seville, even Narva and Moscow'.<sup>90</sup> It was an important cloth town, and the entrepôt of the rural cloth industry of Walloon Flanders (importing foreign wool and exporting the finished cloths).<sup>91</sup> There was a *Corso del Cambio è Saglie di Presente in Lilla*, printed from 1639 or earlier.<sup>92</sup> Like Bruges, Lille was important provincially and

86 Discussed below.

87 Abbé Mann, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de Bruxelles* (reprinted 1996), pp. 180–181.

88 *Relation de la surprise de la ville de Treves* ([April] 1635), *Nouvelles d'Italie d'Allemagne et des Pays-Bas* ([September] 1636), and *Nouvelles tirees de plusieurs lettres* ([September] 1636).

89 ARB, GRSP, 1278/52, 53, 60, 65, 78, 99, 135, 138, 198; esp. 99.

90 Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 57.

91 McCusker & Gravesteyn, *Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism*, p. 273.

92 McCusker & Gravesteyn, op. cit., pp. 274–275.

a minor player on the international scene. The city's administrative and commercial importance made it a natural market for news, and in the course of the 1610s and '20s two printers, Christophe Beys (1573–1645) and Pierre de Rache (died 1648), reprinted several news pamphlets 'Jouxte la copie imprimée de Paris' (After the copy printed in Paris) or 'Jouxte la copie imprimée à Anvers, chez Abraham Verhoeven' (After the copy printed in Antwerp, by Abraham Verhoeven).<sup>93</sup>

In 1628 Simon Le Francq (*d.* 1661), the son of a local lawyer, married Beys's daughter, Georgine, and the following year he set up shop as a bookseller.<sup>94</sup> In 1633 he acquired a lease on a boutique in the prime business location 'soubz les Halles', the street running under the town hall, linking the marketplace and the fish market.<sup>95</sup> Although the works on which Le Francq actually printed his name are few and nearly all devotional, three sets of pamphlets, one in Paris and two in Besançon, contain a number of anonymous pieces printed in the years 1633–1638 and bearing the sole address 'On les vend soubz les Halles' (To be sold under the Halls).<sup>96</sup> From 1641, Le Francq was printing news pamphlets under his name, which he continued to do until 1656, although there are very few survivals.<sup>97</sup> In 1656–57, a small number of news pamphlets were also printed by Toussaint Le Clercq, another native of Lille who had been apprenticed to Pierre de Rache in 1613 and set up on his own account in 1637.<sup>98</sup> The town's *Corso del Cambio* was presumably printed by Le Francq or Le Clercq and shows weekly correspondence between Lille and towns in the Netherlands, Germany, England, France and Italy: an ideal basis for newspaper publication which appears never to have functioned as such. Nevertheless, while the earlier significance of Beys and Rache should not be ignored, Le Francq's activity suggests that in Lille, as in Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges and Douai—and to a more limited extent in Leuven and Mechelen—the 1630s saw a new flowering of current-affairs publishing.

The newspapers and pamphlets printed in the cities of the loyal provinces were not, though, the only news publications read in the Habsburg Netherlands. Apart from the growth in the domestic market in the 1630s, there is evidence that foreign imports were of growing concern to the authorities. In 1640 Privy Councillor Hovyne, author of a high-absolutist work on the government of the

93 Danchin, pp. 52–53, 62–74, 98–100; Jules Houdoy, *Les imprimeurs lillois* (Paris, 1879), pp. 87–88.

94 Houdoy, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Danchin, pp. 105–106.

95 Houdoy, p. 102.

96 BMB recueils 4777, 217.647; BNP, Lk 7/13170–13175.

97 Danchin, pp. 107–109.

98 Houdoy, pp. 93–94; Danchin, vol. 1, p. 115.



Netherlands,<sup>99</sup> proposed that a strict prohibition of the bulk importation of French and Dutch gazettes be issued, and that ‘a sole printer’ be granted a monopoly on newspaper publication in the loyal provinces of the Netherlands.<sup>100</sup> It seems likely that he had a particular client of his own in mind, but nobody specific is mentioned in the documents. On 15 June the Privy Council referred the question to the Council of State, which three days later approved Hovyne’s proposals: heavy penalties were to be imposed on the ‘trading in gazettes in bulk or large packets’ (but not on individual private subscriptions to newspapers printed in enemy territory), and a monopoly was to be established on two conditions: that the government take no active role in it, and that it be fully self-financing. No steps were taken to establish the monopoly, presumably due to the Council of State’s insistence that it be self-financing.<sup>101</sup>

The idea of establishing more effective press controls was again aired in July and August 1642, in the less ambitious proposal of having a salaried official ‘oversee’ the existing newspapers in Antwerp. This time the proposal apparently came from the serving governor general, Francisco de Melo, albeit on behalf of the court chaplain Philippe Chifflet. Audiencier Verreyken wrote to the Chancellor of Brabant on 13 July asking whether it would be considered desirable to appoint a discreet man to oversee the editors of the Antwerp gazettes, to counter the ‘exorbitant’ lies published by the French gazettes, tentatively suggesting Chifflet as a possible candidate for the job. The fact that Petrus Coens, secretary of the bishop of Antwerp and a senior canon in the cathedral, had censored all the newspapers published in Antwerp since 1624, and was to continue to do so until 1644, seems not to have registered as significant.<sup>102</sup> On 31 July Verreyken wrote again, saying that the governor general would like to know ‘the number of those who write gazettes in Antwerp’, again proposing Chifflet as a suitable press overseer.<sup>103</sup> On 7 August the Council of State drafted an *avis* identifying Verdussen and Binnart as the two newspaper publishers in Antwerp and approving the plan in principle, but insisting that the newspapers not become ‘Gazettes such as the French make’ and that all reports be based ‘on truth and not on rumours’. The Council of State

99 E. Van Arenbergh, ‘Hovyne (Charles de)’, *BN*, 9 (Brussels, 1886–87), *sub nom.*

100 ‘un Imprimeur seul’, *ARB*, Raad van State (henceforth *RS*), 1843/unnumbered.

101 ‘traficq des gazettes en masse ou gros paquetz’, *loc. cit.*

102 Very occasionally Van Hontsum (*d.* 1643) filled in for Coens (*d.* 1646), who was replaced by Gaspar Estrix, ‘Plebanus Antuerpiensis & librorum censor’, in 1644.

103 ‘qu’el [*sic*] nombre sont Ceulx qui escripvent des gazettes en Anvers’, *ARB*, *RS*, 1846/unnumbered.

apparently objected to mentioning Chifflet at this stage: the relevant passage in the draft is heavily scored through, and nobody was mentioned by name in the fair copy of the text. As in 1640, there is no sign that anything came of the proposals.<sup>104</sup>

So far we have concentrated on attempts to regulate the domestic press. But as Hovyne's recommendations make clear, there was also a perceived problem with the bulk importation of newspapers from Holland and France, both countries with which the Monarchy was at war (Holland to 1648, France to 1659). Despite the war, a system of passports and exemptions meant that trade and communications were still possible between the belligerents, and indeed for some of the time royal orders from Madrid were carried to Brussels by couriers travelling overland through Paris. On 17 August 1644 the Council of State again involved itself in the business of press regulation, recommending that the Privy Council suppress an *Advis des-intéressé aux habitans des pays bas* (Disinterested advice to the inhabitants of the Low Countries), 'a very pernicious writing' printed in France.<sup>105</sup> The problem was that the posts from Paris could not be opened, 'in order not to give occasion to the French to do likewise with regard to our orders from Spain of great interest to His Majesty's service'.<sup>106</sup> Rather than endanger the postal communications through France, the Privy Council could only take measures to have the pamphlet confiscated once it had been distributed in Brussels and Antwerp.<sup>107</sup>

The foreign newspapers that caused Hovyne such concern not only publicised the enemy's perspective, they could also be a vehicle for publicising internal dissent. The views expressed in the reports from Brussels carried by the *Paris Gazette*, for instance, were of a kind that could not be safely published within the Spanish Monarchy. They culminated in August 1644 with the opinion that if the King of Spain was going to continue to underfund the war with the Dutch, he should not be surprised if the people of the Habsburg Netherlands 'seek, if not to place themselves under more powerful masters, at least to obtain neutrality, and by that means conserve religion, which courts great risks by the

104 'Gazettes come font les françois', 'sur la verité et non sur les brüictz', ARB, RS, RS, 1846/unnumbered.

105 'un tres pernicious escrit'. The *Avis des-intéressé aux habitans des Païs-bas, qui sont sous la domination du Roy d'Espagne* (n.p.d. [France, 1644]) is available on Google Books at <http://books.google.com/books?id=KRpHAAAACAAJ>.

106 'pour ne point donner occasion aux françois de faire le semblable au regard de nos ordres d'Espagne au grand Interest du service de Sa Ma[jes]té'. ARB, RS, 1846/unnumbered.

107 ARB, GRSP, 1278/223.

outcome of this war'.<sup>108</sup> The clear implication was that the King of France would be better able to defend the Catholic Netherlands from Dutch encroachments than was the King of Spain. The attractiveness of France as an alternative guarantor of Catholic orthodoxy was also underlined in a report on the recatholicisation of Sedan where, it was emphasised, 'our devotions come from within our hearts, and not from a servile fear of disobeying the magistrates and the laws, as is the case in many other states, where the people have never tasted Gallican liberty'.<sup>109</sup> These were themes developed at greater length in the *Advis des-intéressé* published earlier that summer, and clearly it was a propaganda line that the French thought would be fruitful to pursue in the aftermath of the Battle of Rocroi. Newspapers containing such sentiments were imported into the Habsburg Netherlands both by individual subscription and in bulk.

Conversely, publishers in the Habsburg Netherlands disseminated the views of foreign dissidents throughout the period under consideration: French leaguers, *dévots* and Frondeurs; Dutch Catholics, Arminians and (after 1650) Orangists; Irish rebels and confederates; English recusants and royalists. In 1650, even the Scottish Commissioners of State had a French pamphlet published in Antwerp in reply to Montrose's European propaganda.<sup>110</sup>

### The Year 1644

Unlike the discussion of the European press in 1623, this chapter cannot claim to cover even a representative sample of Europe's newspapers, so widely had the practice of newspaper publication spread in the intervening twenty years. The general conclusions drawn in chapter 4 do, though, seem to hold for the later period. There was a shared pool of European news, in which certain news-writing centres were of key importance in the transmission of news between

108 'recherche, sinon de se ranger sous de plus puissans maistres, au moins à se mettre en neutralité, & conserver par ce moyen la religion, qui court grand risque par l'évenement de cette guerre'. *NO* 1644 no. 99 (20 Aug.), p. 679.

109 'nos devotions viennent du dedans de nos coeurs, & ne se font pas par une crainte servile de désobeir aux Magistrats & aux loix, comme il se pratique en beaucoup d'autres Estats, dont les peuples n'ont jamais goûté la liberté Gallicane'. *Extraordinaire du IX. septemb.* (Paris, 1644, no. 108), p. 748.

110 *Manifeste des Commissaires d'Estat du Royaume d'Escoce et Responce a un Libelle Diffamatoire de Jacques Graham, Autrefois apellé Conte de Montrose, Contenant trois Calomnies*, one of the 92 pamphlets in the Bodleian volume 'Curious Tracts on English and Scottish Affairs Printed in Holland 1640–1664' (shelfmark G. Pamph. 1356).

the various subsystems or from the wider world. The same events and types of events were considered newsworthy by the various editors and newswriters. Newswriters had access only to news which was already in some way public (or leaked), but were willing and able to speculate about secret affairs. There were, though, certain differences in 1644. The most notable of these was the sheer extent of newspaper publishing, not only in great metropolises across Europe but even in provincial cities. The newspapers of the Baltic area, France, Italy and Portugal all had their own pattern of more local news networks. There were also changes in the European newswriting system more generally, most notably the rise of London, Leipzig and Paris as major newswriting centres and the integration of Scandinavia. Some of these changes were very recent in 1644, others went back to the 1630s: the explosion of news publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands in 1632–1635 was part of a European trend that had begun around 1630. But from the perspective of the Habsburg Netherlands, even though it is clear there was a great growth in news publication in the mid-1630s, too few newspapers survive in sufficient numbers for meaningful comparison with the rest of Europe before the mid-1640s. Thus the year 1644 has been selected for study.

It is a year that tends to be passed over fairly rapidly in general histories of the seventeenth century. Most of the great commanders of the past two decades were gone; of the sovereign rulers of 1622, only Christian IV of Denmark, Philip IV of Spain and Tsar Michael were reigning at the end of 1644. Richelieu was dead and Mazarin had not yet fully inherited his mantle;<sup>111</sup> Olivares was in disgrace, and Philip IV was directing affairs himself.<sup>112</sup> The war in the Empire dragged on under its own steam but without clear-cut objectives or charismatic leaders, the peace congresses at Münster and Osnabrück were only just beginning; the year seems to have been something of a low point. It also seems as though the tenor of the propaganda war had changed since 1635. The Habsburg cause was still identified with legitimate government and the Catholic faith, but there was less of the sense of ‘crusade’ which is to be found in Verhoeven’s works up to 1635, or in the earlier pamphlets of the 1580s and 1590s. The Cardinal Infant’s greatest enemy was another cardinal, Richelieu,

111 The first mention of Mazarin’s rise in Bruges (*NTVG* 1644 no. 15) ran: ‘Den Cardinael Mazzarino is by de Koninginne in zulcke hoogh-achttinge, als Richelieu voortijds was by den Koningh; dan men geloofht hy en zal zoo argh niet wezen’ (Cardinal Mazzarino is as highly regarded by the Queen, as Richelieu was formerly by the King; but it is thought he will not prove so bad.).

112 This was still news in 1644: ‘Persevera tuttavia il Rè nella risolutione di non servirsi di Privato, mà di governar da se’, *Milano* 1644 (20 Jan.).

and the *casus belli* of France's declaration of war was Spanish action against the bishop-elect of Trier, a member of the Catholic League. Habsburg propagandists showed a marked reluctance to resort to religious arguments in their attacks on French war aims.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, in the Empire the Peace of Prague, and the need to justify it to Catholic opinion, fatally undermined the rhetoric of religious war which the imperialists had increasingly adopted in the 1620s.<sup>114</sup> The emphasis was now on preventing 'confusion between things sacred & profane'.<sup>115</sup>

Yet there was no shortage of news. There were perhaps never so many Western-European wars and peace negotiations in progress all at once as in the early and middle months of 1644. Apart from the war in the Empire there were civil wars in the British Isles, Spain and the Low Countries, a Transylvanian invasion of Royal Hungary, a Swedish invasion of Denmark, the War of Castro in Italy. Towards the end of the year, preparations began for the Ottoman invasion of Crete that was to be launched in 1645.<sup>116</sup> As the Brabantine Jesuit Adriaan Poiters wrote in the summer of 1644, 'What kingdom, what republic is not in the midst of the fire of war, or has long stood in its ashes? What town has not seen a bloody river flow past?'<sup>117</sup> Poland was the only state in Western Christendom not at war in the course of the year.

The Battle of Rocroi in 1643 was a major military defeat for the Army of Flanders, and was followed by the loss of Thionville in Luxemburg, while

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- 113 David Parrott, 'The Causes of the Franco-Spanish War of 1635–59', in *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jeremy Black (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 82.
- 114 Robert Bireley, 'The Thirty Years' War as Germany's Religious War', in *Krieg und Politik 1618–1648*, edited by Konrad Repgen (Munich, 1988), pp. 100–103.
- 115 'confusion entre les choses sacrees & profanes', *Lettre de sa Majesté Imperiale a son agent a Rome, contenant les raisons pour lesquelles il a fait la paix avec le Duc de Saxe* (Brussels, Jean Pepermans, 1635), p. 5.
- 116 'Die Maltheser haben in jüngstem eroberten Türckischen Schiff ein *Bassa*, so auß Forcht vorm Großtürcken nach *Meccha* fliehen wollen, sambt 38. seiner Weiber und 150. Türcken vom Adel, neben einem Schatz auff 4. Million Goldts werht bekommen', Venice (2 Dec.), *RFGH* 51; 'Weil der Türgg 200. Galleren wider Malta außgerüst, alß will hiesige Herrschafft per Mare auch Armieren', Venice (6 Dec. 1644), *WOP* 1645 no. 4. Even before Ottoman preparations began, Renaudot printed the unconsciously foreboding piece of historical trivia that 'pour la prise d'un seul galion de Sultanes le siège de Rhodes fut entrepris par le Grand Seigneur', Malta (3 Nov.), *NO* 143 (26 Nov.), pp. 982–983.
- 117 'Welk rijk, welke republiek en zit niet midden in den brand van d'oorloge, of en staat van overlang al in zijn asschen? Welke stad is er die niet een bloedige rivier voorbij haar en heeft zien passeeren?' (*Ydelheyt des Werelts* (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert, 1645), preface). On the work's composition in the summer of 1644, see Edward Rombauts, *Adriaan Poiters* (Davidsfonds Keurreeks 17, 1937), p. 117.

setbacks in Catalonia and Italy were further blows to the Monarchy's power and prestige. Rocroi especially—although its strategic importance may have been exaggerated by historians<sup>118</sup>—was as catastrophic for the reputation of the Monarchy as Stadtlohn had been to the Palsgrave's cause in 1623. There does not even seem to have been any immediate attempt to invoke a mystique of death before dishonour, in the manner of Jan Jacobsen's putting the match to the powder,<sup>119</sup> although the 'Brusselsche Gazette' remarked optimistically that 'It is hoped that no further inconvenience will follow from it'.<sup>120</sup> Reports in 1644 show that in a closer fought battle such as Freiburg, it was easier to put a 'spin' on events.<sup>121</sup> On 1 January 1644 Renaudot, in his round-up of the previous year's events, spoke of 'Spain fallen from that ancient credit that made it feared and respected by all'; as Spain declined, the star of France rose: 'France compared to all other states is a sun that even the most ignorant are able to distinguish from the other planets and stars of the firmament'.<sup>122</sup> Whatever the realities, this was the image that stuck.

The international news networks of the newspapers of Antwerp and Bruges have been touched on in general terms, and with regard to 1644 there is very little to add to previous statements. The poor survivals of the Antwerp newspapers make any more specific comments impossible. It is, though, perhaps worth stating here, for the sake of comparison, that the better survivals of 1645 show Verdussen's *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* to have carried a wider range of correspondence than any of the newspapers considered except those of Paris and Amsterdam, with direct reports from Genoa and Turin as well as Rome, Milan and Venice, from all the major newswriting centres in the German language area, from London, Oxford, Amsterdam, Lille, Dunkirk and Douai. France and Spain were weaker spots, Spanish news coming via Milan, Dunkirk or Lyon, the last being Verdussen's only regular source in France. There were occasional reports from Scandinavia and Constantinople, as well as from Paris, Germany and the Low Countries. Even after the financial collapse of 1640, Antwerp's merchants were among the best supplied in Europe in terms of

118 R.A. Stradling, 'Catastrophe and Recovery: The Defeat of Spain, 1639–43', in *Spain's Struggle for Europe* (London & Rio Grande, 1994), pp. 197–212.

119 *NT* 1622 no. 157 (22 Oct.).

120 'Men verhoopt datter gheen en voorderen hinder na volghen en sal'. *NTVG* 1643 no. 20 (27 May).

121 See e.g. *NTVG* 1644 nos 36 (30 Aug.) & 37 (6 Sept.).

122 'L'Espagne décheuë de cet ancien crédit qui la faisoit craindre & respecter par tout le monde [...]. La France comparée à tous les autres Etats, est un Soleil [...] Les plus ignorans le sçavent distinguer des autres planetes & estoiles du firmament'. *NO* 1644 no. 1 (1 Jan.), p. 11.

international news. Breyghel's *Tydinghen* was provincial in comparison with the newspapers of Antwerp, Amsterdam or Paris. The 57 reports from sources not listed in Table 5, with the exception of one from Genoa and one from Lübeck, were all from northern France, the Low Countries and the Rhineland. Nevertheless, thanks to the news-gathering activities of his major correspondents, Breyghel still provided his readers with thorough coverage of European affairs.

In Amsterdam, Van Hilten published two parallel series: the *Courant uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, etc.* (CID), and the *Extraordinaire Advijzen op Donderdag* (EAD). The *Extraordinaire Advijzen* were exactly that, irregular reports reflecting exceptional occurrences. Nevertheless, something can be said of the spread of these extraordinary reports. For instance, that Van Hilten's contacts in England were very good indeed. He had the widest spread of English sources of any newspaper studied, printing occasional reports from Exeter, Taunton, Dorchester, Portsmouth, Maidenhead, Reading, Oxford, Aylesbury, Lincolnshire, York, and six reports from a not further specified 'England'. The bulk of his extraordinary reports came from Germany and the Low Countries. In total, 80 extraordinary reports came from Germany, 43 from the Habsburg Netherlands, 34 from the British Isles, 33 from the United Provinces or the Prince of Orange's army in Flanders, 19 from France, 10 from the Austrian Habsburg lands, 9 from Denmark, 6 from Switzerland, 5 from Italy, and one each from Spain and Muscovy. Van Hilten thus printed a greater number of direct reports from England than any of the German newspaper editors, even those whose papers survive in almost complete runs. It would seem that Van Hilten's readers were better informed about English affairs than those of any other newspaper. The other sources give a very clear picture of Van Hilten's core interest: the Low Countries, Germany and Scandinavia. In comparison to most editors, Jan Van Hilten's frame of reference was very northern.

Broer Janszoon's *Tydinghe uyt verscheyden Quartieren* (a title adopted in 1629) also carried news from England and Germany, but his emphasis was rather different: war news from the Dutch, French and Swedish armies, and reports from Vienna and Pressburg of the war in Hungary.<sup>123</sup> More general news was printed, but the regular sources were weighted towards anti-Habsburg military reports. From 1642 or earlier Janszoon's son, Joost Broerszoon (1608–1647), printed the mid-week edition, the *Ordinaris Dinghs-daeghs*

123 The two surviving issues of 1644 (nos 19 & 50) contain four reports from Leipzig, three from Vienna and two from 'the Elbe', but these general remarks are based on better surviving runs from other years.

*Courante*, but no issues from 1644 survive in the collections consulted and it is not clear what relationship his *Courante* had with his father's *Tydinghe*, or what sources he used regularly at any time in his five-year newspaper career.

Besides the Van Hilten and Janszoon/Broerszoon papers, there was by 1644 a third newspaper in Amsterdam, Mathijs van Meininga's *Europische Courant*, only four issues of which survive from 1644.<sup>124</sup> All these are of the Saturday edition, the *Europische Saterdaegh Courant*; there were also Tuesday and Thursday editions. Between them the Amsterdam newspapers had only three publication days: all had a Saturday edition and a mid-week edition, Janszoon on Tuesday, Van Hilten on Thursday, and Meininga on both Tuesday and Thursday. Rather than issues appearing six days each week, there were two each on Tuesdays and Thursdays and three on Saturdays. This may well match the weekly rhythms of Amsterdam's market days and international posts.

Twenty newspapers are known to have been printed in the German language area in 1644, although not all survive in issues from that year.<sup>125</sup> Only a fraction of these have been consulted. Three of the newspapers studied for 1623—those of Strasbourg, Hamburg and Zürich—were still being published in 1644, but only that of Strasbourg survives in a substantial run. In 1623 the *Relation aller Fürnemen und Gedenkwürdigen Historien* was published by the founder, Johann Carolus. At his death in 1634, the shop passed to his brother Moritz, and in 1647 to the 'Carolus heirs', who sold up in 1688.<sup>126</sup> Relative to 1623, the correspondence base of the paper seems to have become denser within the German language zone, but less extensive beyond it. Prague, in 1623 the foremost source within the Empire, was no longer one of the *Relation's* regular sources. Nor were Amsterdam, The Hague or Brussels. Where Johann Carolus had had quite extensive direct correspondence with the Low Countries, his brother relied almost entirely on Cologne for news from there and from England; perhaps the *Relation* no longer had someone to translate from Dutch.<sup>127</sup> Breslau and Regensburg had become very minor occasional sources.

Although only three copies of the Hamburg *Zeitung* survive from 1644, and only one in the collections consulted, the city had gained such a high profile in Europe's intelligence networks by 1644 that some mention must be made of it. In 1631 Johann Meyer of Hamburg changed his title from *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* to the simpler *Wochentliche Zeitung*. About the same time

<sup>124</sup> 'Ghedruckt by Mathijs van Meininga, Courantier, woonende inde Sinte Claes straet inde Courant, ende worden mede uytgegeven op den Dam inde twee Hammen'.

<sup>125</sup> Bogel & Blühm, pp. 1–135 *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> Bogel & Blühm, p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> Antwerp and 'England' each provided one report directly, both in issue no. 36.



he appears to have quarrelled with his printer, Paul Lange, and set up his own press.<sup>128</sup> In 1634 Meyer died, and in 1644 the publisher was Widow Meyer (1593–1656), now the wife of Martin Schumacher, notary public. From 1630 the Meyer *Zeitung* had competition from the imperial postmaster's twice-weekly *Post Zeitung* (1630–1631), later the *Ordinari* (or *Ordentliche*) *Wochentliche Postzeitung* (1631–1640), and later still *Europäische Zeitung* (1646–1675).<sup>129</sup> No copies survive from Abondio Somigliano's period as postmaster (1640–1646), but it is noteworthy that the Meyer newspaper does not represent the city's full provision of printed news. By 1649, three newspapers with six publication days between them meant that Hamburg's reading public effectively had daily printed news.

The spectacular level of provision of international news in Hamburg is easily explained. There were three distinct information networks in Germany, and Hamburg was linked to all of them. Rather than being geographically divided, these networks were institutionally distinct: the Tassis network of imperial posthouses, common carriers, in Hamburg based at the 'Kauffmans-Post-Haus', and the Swedish military posts run from Leipzig. Two other services converged on Hamburg: the royal posts of Denmark and Sweden. In 1623 the city had been the northern terminus of regular mail services; by 1644 it was the linchpin of northern Europe's posts. From an occasional source for newspaper reports, it had become one of the major newswriting centres alongside Rome and Vienna. The eleven issues of the Meyer *Zeitung* from 1645 (preserved in the Royal Library, Stockholm) show that the general trends of German news publishing were evident in Hamburg, with Paris replacing Lyon as the source of news from France, and news from the Low Countries coming in reports from Cologne. Surprisingly, direct reporting from the Low Countries, England or Scandinavia was no more prominent than in any other German newspaper.

Leipzig may have had a newspaper during the first Swedish occupation (1631–1633),<sup>130</sup> but it only became an important news centre during the second Swedish occupation (1642–1650), when it was again, and more lastingly, the location of the 'Swedish Posthouse', headquarters of the Swedish army's courier service.<sup>131</sup> From 1643 the *Wöchentliche Zeitung*, in effect the Swedish army's

128 Ries, 'Anatomy', p. 189.

129 Bogel & Blühm, p. 87.

130 Bogel & Blühm, p. 93.

131 The first royal order to institute the central military post office in Leipzig, *Königliche Schwedische Post-Ordnung. Ausz Leipzig sollen hinfüran die Boten præcise ablaussen: Wornach sich ein jeder wird wissen zu richten*, printed in Leipzig by Gregorio Ritzsch, was issued on 20 November 1631.

gazette, was printed three to four times per week, sometimes more, and contained news from all over Europe. The publisher was probably the printer Timotheus Ritzsch (1614–1678), who from 1650 published the first daily newspaper, the *Einkommende Zeitungen*, under a licence issued in the name of the Elector of Saxony.<sup>132</sup> Besides a wide network in Germany, extending to the Habsburg hereditary lands, Switzerland and the Baltic area, Leipzig's *Wöchentliche Zeitung* regularly printed news from the Low Countries, England and France, not just from major news centres but also from more obscure towns such as Lille, Hull and La Rochelle. In 1645 there were even one-off reports from Lisbon and Constantinople.<sup>133</sup> Ritzsch's sources in Italy were no better than those of any other German editor, and indeed perhaps rather worse: of the 118 reports in the 17 surviving issues from 1644, only four came from Italy: one from Venice, one from Rome, two from Milan.

Another newspaper in German, of uncertain origin, also survives in a substantial run from 1644. This is the *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen*, printed 1639–1666 without name or address, but on paper of Swiss manufacture (from the Probstatt papermill at Horw). Place of publication has been conjectured variously as Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Lucerne and Constance.<sup>134</sup> On archival and internal evidence, Bogel and Blühm suggest David Hautt (1603–1677), who worked in Lucerne until 1657 and thereafter in Constance, as the most likely publisher.<sup>135</sup> Virtually all the occasional reports and most of the regular news came from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. No reports from England, Spain, Scandinavia or Poland were printed, and only three from the Low Countries, all from Brussels. As with Breyghel's *Tydinghen*, though, the limitations of the direct correspondence are made good by the wider ramifications of the newswriting system: every report from Cologne contained news from England and the Low Countries, every report from Hamburg news of the Swedish-Danish war, and reports from Lyon were largely concerned with the war in Catalonia.

The same phenomenon was apparent in all the newspapers printed in German except the Leipzig *Zeitung*. Linguistic limitations, rather than any lack of interest in the subjects covered, perhaps account for the almost total absence of Dutch, English or Spanish correspondents and the dominance of German as a source language, supplemented by Italian and French. Another explanation

132 M. Lindemann, *Die deutsche Presse bis 1815* (Berlin, 1969), p. 95; Bogel & Blühm, pp. 132, 140. *EZL* began publication on 1 July, two days after the Swedish withdrawal.

133 *WZL* 1645 no. 14.

134 Bogel & Blühm, p. 128.

135 Bogel & Blühm, pp. 128–129.

may be economic rationalisation: in 1623 the German newspapers subscribed to news services provided by correspondents in Amsterdam, Brussels or The Hague; by 1644, with twenty German-language newspapers all wanting news from England and the Low Countries, there was a large enough market to support specialisation in Cologne.

This was certainly not true of newspapers south of the Alps. By 1644, the printed newspaper had made its appearance in Italy, and all the Italian newspapers show a range of correspondence from northern Europe. The oldest reference to an Italian newspaper is from 18 July 1639, when the Genoese government suppressed Pier Giovanni Calenzano's unlicensed gazette. Later in the month, the same body licensed Michele Castelli to print a pro-Habsburg *Gazzetta di Genova*, which by 1643 was being printed by Giovanni Maria Farroni.<sup>136</sup> From May 1640 or earlier, a *Gazzetta di Genova* appeared which was actually printed in Florence by Amador Massi and Lorenzo Landi, presumably the continuation of Calenzano's suppressed gazette. The last surviving issue is dated 24 June 1656.<sup>137</sup> Its appearance prompted Farroni to add the qualification 'Il Sincero' to his own *Gazzetta di Genova*.<sup>138</sup> The competing gazettes of Genoa were followed by a *Gazzetta di Milano* in 1641, published by the Malatesta brothers, printers to the ducal court;<sup>139</sup> and by a *Gazzetta di Bologna*, licensed by the Bolognese authorities on 13 October 1643 in response to an application from the printer Lorenzo Pellegrini dated 23 July 1642.<sup>140</sup> Pellegrini's application contains the phrase 'Having printed a weekly sheet of news in this city, and desiring to continue', so the *Gazzetta di Bologna* would seem to have been printed for a year or more before it was licensed or any issues survive.<sup>141</sup>

These are the four Italian newspapers of which copies survive from 1644 or earlier. In Rome, two newspapers appear to have been printed in 1644, and possibly as early as 1640, a *Gazzetta ordinaria* edited by an Alessandro Gualterucci and a *Gazzetta pubblica* printed by Giovacchino Bellini.<sup>142</sup> From 1631 or earlier there was also a government-monitored weekly gazette in Naples. Initially

136 Ugo Bellocchi, *Storia del giornalismo italiano*, vol. 3, pp. 31–33.

137 Bellocchi, vol. 3, p. 36.

138 Copies in KBS & ZBZ.

139 Bellocchi, vol. 3, pp. 39–43.

140 Op. cit., pp. 44–45.

141 'Havendo [...] stampare un foglio d'avisi la settimana, in questa città, e desiderando continuare'. Quoted in Albano Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna* (Bologna, 1929), pp. 157–159.

142 Bellocchi, vol. 3, pp. 52–53; Maria Augusta Morelli, *Gli inizi della stampa periodica a Firenze nella prima metà del XVII secolo* (Messina & Florence, 1968), p. 307 note 55.

scribally published, a notarial act of 1647 refers to the 'Avisi di Roma et altre parti del mondo' as having been printed at least from 1642, when Salomea Antonazzoni, the widow of the newswriter Gian Geronimo Favella, was licensed to continue the gazette in partnership with Don Emilio Saccano.<sup>143</sup> But no copies of a Roman serial survive from before 1646, or of a printed *Gazzetta di Napoli* from before 1676. For the sample year 1644, only the *Gazzetta di Milano* survives in a substantial run in the collections consulted.<sup>144</sup>

The sources of the *Gazzetta di Milano* cannot be identified with confidence, as the Italian newspapers did not use datelines, instead editing the reports into continuous narratives arranged according to where the action took place, rather than where the reports originated. Nevertheless, sources were sometimes mentioned, and almost as frequently it was recorded when the posts from a particular city had failed to arrive on time. Thus it seems possible to state tentatively that the main newswriting services used by the Malatestas were based in the cities listed in Table 5, and, even more frequently mentioned but never satisfactorily datelined, in Genoa, Rome, Florence and Turin.

One of the most famous newspapers of the age was Théophraste Renaudot's, published in two weekly instalments as the *Gazette* and the *Nouvelles ordinaires*, with frequent 'extraordinary' issues to cover breaking news or, more often, give further particulars of big stories. Pensioned by the government and regularly fed information by those in power, it was quite possibly the best-supplied newspaper in Europe. Nevertheless, it may be overstating both cases to say that it was 'the principal newspaper of the seventeenth century' and 'wholly given over to official propaganda'.<sup>145</sup> Mathieu de Morgues, Marie de Medici's confessor, had been close to Richelieu when they both served the Queen Mother.<sup>146</sup> It was as an 'insider' at the French court that in one of his pamphlets he had Renaudot address Richelieu thus:

Monseigneur,

As you have obliged me by establishing it as my charge each week to take from your secretary the secret memoranda that I am in my gazettes to publish in France and abroad, I take it as an article of faith that you have

143 Bellocchi, vol. 3, p. 84.

144 ZBZ, bound with papers addressed to 'Monsieur Uldrich tresdigne Pasteur en leglise de Christ qui est A Zurich'.

145 R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (London & New York, 1988), p. 179.

146 *Biographie universelle*, vol. 30 (Paris, 1821), pp. 158–159; Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, pp. 2, 114.

made me a foundation stone and that you have chosen me for nothing less than to spread throughout Europe that which you judge to be of powerful service to your awesome designs [...]'<sup>147</sup>

This is not the full picture, as it is unlikely that the shipping news of Genoa or Danzig was printed at Richelieu's direct behest. Nevertheless, it shows a public awareness of the French gazette's role as a propaganda organ, and there is evidence that in matters they considered important the cardinal and even the king would dictate reports for Renaudot to publish.<sup>148</sup> A failure to publish such articles at the first opportunity earned a sharp, 'the Gazette will do its duty or Renaudot will be deprived of pensions'.<sup>149</sup> While some might see 'gazettes such as the French make' as a disreputable form of publication, Renaudot himself made the most of his known bias. The self-projection of his newspaper was official, loyal, even regal: 'The King has honoured me with the public pen', he wrote in December 1639; in August 1651 he was Apelles to Louis XIV's Alexander.<sup>150</sup>

The origins of Renaudot's reports are worth a more detailed examination, since he surpassed every other editor not only in the number of reports printed, but also in the level of local detail from all over Europe. He maintained subscriptions to a broad range of newswriting services in the 'Germanic' area of the Empire, the Low Countries and Scandinavia. Besides the regular sources, there was a substantial number of occasional reports from a 'second rank' comprising Staden (13), Danzig (12), Copenhagen (12), Osnabrück (11), Münster (11), Dresden (10) and The Hague (9), while even less frequent reports came from 102 towns in the Low Countries, Germany, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden and Poland.<sup>151</sup> The same breadth of coverage applies to Renaudot's reports

147 'Monseigneur, Comme vous m'avez obligé par l'establisement en ma charge, de prendre toutes les Sepmaines de vostre Secretaire les memoires secretz que je doibz publier en France, & aux Pays estrangers dans mes gazettes: J'ay creu, comme article de foy, que vous faisiez de moy une piece fondamentale, & que vous ne m'aviez poinct choisy pour semer par toute l'Europe ce que vous jugiez devoir servir puissamment à vos effroyables desseins [...]'. *Satyre d'Estat* (n.p.d. [1635]), p. 5.

148 Gilles Feyel, 'Richelieu et la Gazette', in *Richelieu et le monde de l'esprit* (Paris, 1985), pp. 207–216.

149 'la Gazette fera son devoir ou Renaudot sera privé des pensions'. Richelieu, *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'État*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1863), p. 51.

150 Quoted in Solomon, *Public Welfare*, pp. 124–125.

151 Not including reports from the armies of the French and their allies operating in the Rhineland, Flanders, Denmark and Saxony. Lorraine, with the exception of Toul, Metz and Verdun, has been counted as a German principality.

TABLE 5    *Newspapers compared for the sample year 1644, abbreviated per title.*

	<i>NTVG</i>	<i>NO</i>	<i>RFGH</i>	<i>WZL</i>	<i>WOPZ</i>	<i>Milano</i>	<i>EAD/CID</i>
Place of publication	Bruges	Paris	Strasbourg	Leipzig	Luzern?	Milan	Amsterdam
Proprietor	Breyghel	Renaudot	Carolus	Ritzsch?	Hautt?	Malatesta bros	Van Hilten
Profession	Bookseller	Physician	Bookseller	Postmaster	Bookseller	Booksellers	Bookseller
Dates of publication	1637–1654	1631–1789	1609–1682	1643–1650	1639–1666	1641–?	1618–1664
Number of issues surviving from 1644 (original total)	51 (c. 55)	104 (104)	17 (52)	17 (c. 208)	48 (52)	34 (52?)	27 (104)
Total number of reports in surviving issues from 1644	389	1319	214	118	469	108	313
Average reports/ week	7.5	25	12.5	27	9.5	NA	23
Number of sources	35	250	44	63	40	23	137

Main sources (+number of reports)									
Brussels (50)	Hamburg (52)	Hamburg (23)	army States (9)	Cologne (50)	Paris (26)	London (20)			
London (41)	Paris (52)	Cologne (18)	London (8)	Vienna (49)	Lyon (13)	(incl. 'Westminster')			
Vienna (40)	Rome (52)	Leipzig (18)	Vienna (8)	Leipzig (48)	Brussels (12)	Cologne (12)			
Hamburg (39)	Vienna (49)	Vienna (18)	Amsterdam (6)	Hamburg (41)	Vienna (10)	Antwerp (11)			
Leipzig (38)	Leipzig (44)	Erfurt (15)	Cologne (6)	Erfurt (37)	Madrid (9)	Hamburg (9)			
Dunkirk (26)	Naples (42)	Milan (15)	Flushing (6)	Lyon (37)	Hamburg (6)	Flushing (8)			
Milan (18)	Lübeck (40)	Lyon (12)	Flanders (5)	Milan (33)	Leipzig (4)	Brussels (6)			
Prague (15)	Erfurt (36)	Oberland (10)	Antwerp (4)	Rome (33)	London (4)	Copenhagen (6)			
Frankfurt (14)	Prague (35)	Lower Saxony (9)		Basel (28)	Barcelona (3)	Dunkirk (6)			
Bruges (11)	Amsterdam (33)	Paris (8)		Venice (19)		Lübeck (6)			
Venice (10)	Barcelona (31)					Basel (5)			
	Genoa (28)					Breisach (5)			
	Antwerp (22)					The Hague (5)			

from the British Isles. Rather than rely solely on a London newswriter, Renaudot also took letters from Oxford (21), and received occasional reports from Wexford, Dundalk, Pendeen, Exeter, Scarborough and Edinburgh. Much the same sort of thing could be said of news from Italy and from the French provinces. Beyond Western Europe his sources were meagre—three reports from Constantinople and one from Malta—and like everyone else he largely relied on Venice and Vienna for news from Constantinople, Anatolia and the Levant, and Amsterdam for news from the Indies; but within Western Europe he was unsurpassed for range and detail, as long as the news was acceptable to his patrons.

The newspaper history of England is complicated by the breakdown of the royal licensing system in 1641. Although there was a dramatic growth in news publications, the Civil War made domestic military and political news the most vital element in them. In London a dozen series were in print by 1644, with readers able to buy at least one newspaper every day but Sunday. In Oxford, the *Mercurius Aulicus* was printed from January 1643 to September 1645. But none of these regularly engaged with foreign news, and indeed they often seem to have been as interested in satirising one another as in reporting events. In one journalistic lament, 'There were never more books abroad than now, and never lesse newes'.<sup>152</sup> Only in 1645 and 1646, as the fighting drew towards a close in England, did publications begin to carry considerable amounts of foreign news, some even beginning to specialise in it.<sup>153</sup> This was not yet the case in 1644. As one editor complained, 'wee talke of nothing else, but of what is done in *England*: and perhaps once in a fortnight, wee hearken after Newes out of *Scotland*'.<sup>154</sup>

This gives a one-sided picture of England's position in the European information community, as the communication was all one way: foreign newspapers showed great interest in English news, and had no trouble in obtaining it. There was awareness in England of foreign interest in news of the Civil Wars. On 7 June 1644 the first issue of the *Mercure Anglois* appeared, printed by Robert White for Nicholas Bourne.<sup>155</sup> Bourne took the step of advertising the new newspaper with a handbill, what would now be called a flyer, stressing its

152 *Weekly Account* 1644 no. 35 (29 Feb.), quoted in Raymond, *Invention*, p. 36.

153 Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 144–148.

154 *Exchange Intelligencer* 1645 no. 1 (15 May), quoted in Raymond, *Invention*, p. 145.

155 BLL, ZBZ, KBS. This *Mercure Anglois* should not be confused with the Royalist *Mercure Anglois* (1648/49–1653) published in The Hague by Samuel Browne, a relative of the Princess of Orange's Anglican chaplain Dr Thomas Browne. Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 281–282.



usefulness for ‘all merchants and others that are desirous weekly to impart beyond seas the certain condition of affairs here’.<sup>156</sup>

The *Mercur Anglois* has been compared with the reports of English affairs printed in the various Continental newspapers studied, only to find that Bourne’s attempt to inform Continental Calvinists of the justice of Parliament’s cause and the reality of its success had no discernible impact on Continental reporting of the war in the course of 1644 (which is not to say it may not have done in later years). Instead, the bias of the London newswriters to whose services the Continental editors subscribed determined the colour of the news received. Breyghel’s London correspondent, for instance, would appear to have been an eirenic Anglican and moderate supporter of Parliament, until alienated by the frenzy (‘dulligheyt’) of the Puritan purge of Westminster Abbey.<sup>157</sup> Renaudot had several English sources, and warned his readers that they were not unbiased, as ‘each one writes to his own advantage’.<sup>158</sup> Nevertheless, his main London correspondent, in 1644 at least, appears not to have had a particular axe to grind. One or two details suggest that he may have been a Catholic Frenchman, perhaps attached to the suite of the French ambassador.<sup>159</sup> Renaudot’s Oxford correspondent was either a staunch royalist or uncritically relied on royalist propaganda for news.

No copies of the Iberian Peninsula’s first true periodicals—the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, printed by Lourenço de Anveres from 1641 onwards, and the Catalan reprints of Renaudot’s *Nouvelles ordinaires*—have been consulted. No copies are known to survive of a newspaper which was printed in Copenhagen from as early as 1634, when the printer Melchior Martzan and the bookseller Jochim Moltken were licensed to ‘print or have printed the weekly News in Danish and German’<sup>160</sup> That the newspaper was actually published, and was in print in 1644, is demonstrated by the fact that in that year Martzan, Moltken and another bookseller got into trouble for breaching censorship regulations, but Martzan was let off because he ‘prints nothing other than the ordinary Corantos, and anything else if ordered by the Authorities’.<sup>161</sup> Which is evidence

156 Quoted in Raymond, *Invention*, p. 146 n. 60.

157 *NTVG* 1643 no. 21 (2 June).

158 *NO* 1642, unnumbered special (18 Nov.), quoted in Solomon, *Public Welfare*, p. 124.

159 There are repeated references to the doings of the French ambassador, a few mentions of his chaplain, and a reference to hanging drawing and quartering as ‘la mode de ce païs’ (London (7 Dec. 1643), *NO* 1644 no. 5 (9 Feb.), p. 33), and to the hatred of Catholicism among ‘ces peuples’ (London (26 May), *NO* 1644 no. 62 (4 June), p. 406).

160 ‘trykke og trykke lade de ugelige Aviser paa danske og tyske’, Ries, p. 205.

161 ‘trykker intet andet end de ordinarie Couranter, og hvis ham ellers af Övrigheden bliver tilstillet’, Ries, p. 206.

not only of newspaper publication, but perhaps also of the level of government involvement typical of an official gazette.<sup>162</sup>

In Stockholm, Sweden's first weekly newspaper, the *Ordinari Post Tijdener*, began publication in 1645, edited by Johann von Beijer, postmaster royal. It was preceded in 1644 by an unperiodic numbered series of war reports without running title, printed in Swedish and German editions and collectively catalogued as 'Sveriges Krig' in the Royal Library in Stockholm. The regular reports came from Sweden's provincial towns (Lund, Linköping, Jönköping, Gothenburg, etc.) and the Swedish royal post office that had been established in Hamburg in 1635. The format was that usual in Germany: a single sheet folded once to make a four-page leaflet. For some time Hamburg was the only regular source which was neither in Sweden nor under Swedish military occupation, although Beijer was instructed in 1643 and again in 1645 to obtain correspondents in the foremost cities of Germany, Holland, France, Italy 'and elsewhere'.<sup>163</sup> In the course of the later 1640s and early '50s, however, there was direct correspondence with the rest of Europe. Some occasional reports hint at communication networks not attested by other newspapers, such as news of Montrose's fate brought to Gothenburg by Orcadian mariners.<sup>164</sup> Besides Gothenburg and Hamburg, the Baltic ports of Germany were Sweden's windows on the wider world.

In the newspapers consulted, the same general pattern of a single European newswriting community is apparent in 1644 as in 1623. Despite this, the specific details of local networks and their interaction were somewhat altered. Rome, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, The Hague, and to a lesser extent Breslau, Brussels, London and 'Spain' had been major newswriting sources in 1623. Although still a source of news, Breslau's importance had declined—and may have been unusually inflated in 1623 by the session of the States of Silesia. Brussels had also declined, although the newspapers of Amsterdam, Paris and Milan still made regular use of it as a source of reports. So too did Breyghel's *Tydinghen*, but as a provincial publication carrying news from the capital, that is something of a special case. Amsterdam was also less high-profiled than in 1623, and The Hague had in effect disappeared completely as a source of newspaper reports. This is not because these cities were no longer important as newswriting centres, but rather because newsletters from Amsterdam and The Hague were mediated by other centres: Cologne for the German newspapers,

162 Martzan was, however, printer to the court, and his newspaper printing may have been a separate concern from whatever else he was ordered to print.

163 'och annorstädes', Sylwan, *Svenska Pressens Historia*, p. 29.

164 Gothenburg (29 May), *Ordinari Post Tijdener*, 1650 no. 23 (7 June).

Brussels for the pro-Habsburg newspapers of Bruges, Milan and Genoa. Of the papers studied, only the *Paris Gazette* made regular use of Amsterdam as a direct source of reports.

London, a major newswriting centre within the British Isles and now in Europe as a whole, had grown in importance with Continental interest in the English Civil War. The turmoil of the country may have all but destroyed the market for foreign news in England, but for the very same reason foreign curiosity about English affairs had greatly increased since 1623. In the Low Countries and Cologne, there had been coverage of English affairs for the past twenty years, but this coverage became far more intense after 1642. South of the Alps, another news centre that was growing in European importance was Milan, which by 1644 had joined Rome and Venice as a major source for most Cisalpine newspapers.

Hamburg and Leipzig had both become major centres for news across Europe, Hamburg due to its increasing role as an international entrepôt and as the link between the German and Scandinavian postal systems, Leipzig due largely to the Swedish Posthouse, the communications centre of the Swedish armies in the Empire. To a lesser degree Erfurt had also grown in importance, perhaps because it now housed a major Swedish garrison. Like Regensburg in 1623, a *Deputationstag* gave Frankfurt uncharacteristic prominence in 1643–45. The international peace congresses at Münster and Osnabrück were also beginning to attract the attention of the press, but not until 1646 was there regular reporting direct from these towns. This is hardly surprising: in 1644 all there was to report was the long drawn-out opening ceremonies—arrivals and receptions, the examining of accreditation, mutual recognition by the plenipotentiaries—and the Tassis service had not yet set up the special postal link between Münster and Brussels that would provide easy international connectivity once the negotiations were in full swing.<sup>165</sup>

Copenhagen and Stockholm made increasing appearances as occasional or low-ranking regular sources in the newspapers under consideration. In Copenhagen's case the change took place soon after 1623, and has much to do with Christian IV's economic policies: the New Bourse was opened on 13 December 1624, and eleven days later the king proclaimed postal reforms. These would give Copenhagen's merchants the most modern direct communication with the rest of the country, and a carrier service to Hamburg. Moreover, with Denmark's entry into the war in 1625, there was European interest in the king's policies and the country's capacities, reflected in the increase in news

165 Behringer, 'Brussel', in Janssens & Meurrens, *De post*, p. 33.

from Denmark. A further postal reform in 1640, with changes of horses by land and special packet-boats by sea, brought the Copenhagen-Hamburg run down to three days, and from this date Copenhagen can be considered fully integrated into the European newswriting system.<sup>166</sup> Sweden's integration was less complete, and was only in its earliest stages in 1644.

The rebellions and wars of the British Isles increased London's news profile, but the conflicts in the Iberian Peninsula did nothing comparable for Madrid's. Strangely, by 1644 Spain had disappeared almost entirely from the European press as a direct source of news. Instead, Spanish news was largely covered in reports from Genoa, even these often mediated through Milan. Barcelona had some minor prominence as a newswriting centre, and was a mainstay of the *Nouvelles ordinaires*, but no city loyal to Philip IV was prominent as a source of news, not even Madrid, Cadiz or Seville, which had formerly enjoyed a modest position in the market. This might be due to the unreliability of the overland route through France, the sea route through the Channel, or the Mediterranean connection via Genoa and Barcelona, all of which were disrupted, although not broken entirely, by the war. Roland Baetens, having studied the international correspondence of the de Groote company in the sample year 1642, was struck by the irregularity and slowness of the posts between Antwerp and Spain, particularly given the much faster link with Lisbon.<sup>167</sup> Whereas the civil war in England meant a breakdown of effective censorship, the wars in Spain meant a breakdown of communications. It may also be that the crisis in Spain saw increased vigilance in those cities still under royal control, discouraging newswriters from touching on those matters of state which most interested editors.

Taken as a whole, the press of 1644 gives a much clearer picture of a few great newswriting centres providing editors across Europe with news from particular catchment areas. The role of the Habsburg Netherlands as a communications crossroads between the English-Spanish-French and the Dutch-German-Italian areas is less apparent in 1644: German editors now relied on Cologne to provide news from the west; Italian editors had their own correspondents in England and France; Spanish news more often came through Genoa than through Antwerp or Brussels. But Brussels did have a fixed, albeit minor, position in this newswriting system. The newspaper editors of Paris, Milan and Cologne (and thus ultimately of most of Europe) looked to Brussels newswriters for information on the war in Flanders, the prizes of the Dunkirkers, and the Monarchy's financial vicissitudes and expedients.

<sup>166</sup> Ries, 'Anatomy', p. 203.

<sup>167</sup> Baetens, *Nazomer*, pp. 94–95.

Contrarily, the newspaper of Nicolaas Breyghel in provincial Bruges shows a reliance on Brussels as a mediating news centre, especially for reports from France and the Northern Netherlands. Antwerp was no longer a newswriting centre of any importance: it was still the main international interchange of the postal system, and thus played an important role in the structures of transmission between different communication centres, and it was still a market for international news, but it had become peripheral to the concerns of the European system as a whole.

In terms of the type of news that was of interest, there were important continuities with 1623. Europe's newswriters still concentrated on courts, parliaments and armies, with occasional coverage of shipping and prodigies. At the same time there were variations in emphasis and style. The most noteworthy of these was more detailed court reporting with a greater use of flattery. With the kings of Spain, Denmark and England all campaigning in person, court news from those countries was subsumed into war news.<sup>168</sup> Even news of the queen of England had a martial emphasis.<sup>169</sup> Elsewhere, court life continued with more normalcy, although there were always special occasions to interrupt the routine.<sup>170</sup> As ever, the doings of the Sultan were only news when they highlighted the tendency of policy changes in the Porte to be accompanied by sudden deaths.<sup>171</sup> Court ceremony was as newsworthy as ever, but Renaudot's court reporting set new levels for detail of coverage and hyperbolic flattery, giving day-by-day accounts of the past week's events at court, taking in the activities of the great noble families at court as much as the royal family itself.<sup>172</sup>

168 E.g. 'lettere da Madrid [...] contengono, che S.M. era dal Regno d'Aragona uscito col suo Essercito in Campagna', *Milano* (13 April).

169 E.g. 'Die Königin in Engelland ist von Bourbon zu Nevers ankommen, laßt etlich Compagnia Reutter für den König werben', Lyon (23 Oct.), *WOPZ* 45.

170 'Wegen der Königin in Spannia Ableiben ist der Hoff zu Prissel in Rew gekleydert', Cologne (20 Nov.), *WOPZ* no. 49 (see also Pierre Le Boucq, *Histoire des choses les plus remarquables*, ed. Amédée le Boucq de Ternas (Douai, 1857), pp. 47–48); for a brief eulogy of Elizabeth of Bourbon see *NO* no. 138 (12 Nov.), p. 956; for full details of the solemn requiem in Paris, the 'extraordinaire' *NO* no. 148 (16 Dec.), pp. 1013–1020.

171 'Da Constantinopoli, oltre la confirmatione della violente morte del Primo Visir', *Milano* (13 April).

172 E.g. 'Le premier de ce mois, on apprit en cette Cour que la mere du Cardinal Mazarin estoit decedée à Rome avec un regret universel de ceux qui connoissoient sa piété & ses autres vertus: lesquelles n'ont point besoin d'autre preuve que d'avoir fait une si heureuse éducation que celle de son Eminence', Paris (7 May), *NO* no. (7 May), p. 304; 'Le troisieme de ce mois, le Prince de Conti receut le degré de Maistre es Arts [...] interrogé par ce

His gazette was, indeed, somewhat exceptional in the amount of space devoted to court life and ceremony, and in celebrating a victory he not only reported the feat of arms, but also the celebration it led to, extending legitimate coverage of the event by up to a month. Verhoeven's reaction to major victories like Stadtlohn or Breda pales beside Renaudot's reporting of much less obviously important successes. The fall of Gravelines, for instance, was reported in full in a special edition on 1 August (no. 90, pp. 605–616), the royal celebrations of the victory were given in a special edition on 5 August (no. 91, pp. 617–628), on 17 August 'les feux de joye faits dans l'Hostel de Luxembourg par Madame, pour la prise de Graveline' was the third and final item in an 'extraordinaire' (no. 96), and finally, the regular issue of 27 August (no. 102) contained reports from Lyon, Limoges and Tours describing the provincial celebrations.<sup>173</sup> Eight years later, at the recovery of Gravelines, the *Relations véritables*, the closest approximation to an official gazette in the Habsburg Netherlands, was nothing like so fulsome in its coverage: a special edition on the surrender of the French garrison, and the *Te Deum* covered in 66 words in the regular reports from Brussels.<sup>174</sup> Verdussen would also appear to have brought out a special edition on the fall of Gravelines, although his newspaper does not survive from the 1650s.<sup>175</sup> Renaudot's gazette, in emphasizing not just the victories of the dynasty but the general joy they occasioned, was the first newspaper explicitly to set about creating a sense of common nationhood focused on the royal court but shared by the various provinces.

One type of news story very different from those of 1623 was occasioned by the internal divisions of Catholicism. The political rivalry of Spain and France, Catholic powers with very different traditions, and the rise of the interconnected Jansenist and rigorist controversies both gave a new profile to news of a specifically Catholic nature. In Ghent, Bruges and Brussels there was anti-Jansenist rioting in August and September 1644.<sup>176</sup> It was in August that

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Chancellier & par les Examineurs des 4. Nations sur les plus belles questions de la Philosophie, il y respondit si doctement, que toute l'assistance en fut ravie', Paris (13 Aug.), *NO* no. 95 (13 Aug.), pp. 651–652.

173 To take the shortest as an example: 'Hier fut ici chanté le *Te Deum* pour la prise de Graveline, auquel assistèrent le Marquis de Villeroy Lieutenant général de l'armée du Roy en cette province, le sieur de Vaubecourt Mareschal de camp & autres Officiers de cette armée, avec le Présidial & le Corps de ville', Limoges (18 Aug.).

174 Brussels (1 June), *RV* 1652 no. 22 (1 June).

175 A single sheet entitled *Kort verhael van 't ghene In de Belegheinghe van de stercke Stadt Grevelingen* was printed without address, but 'Na de Cope tot Antwerpen, by Guiliam Verdussen, 1652'.

176 Rombauts, *Adriaan Poirters*, p. 137.

Renaudot's Brussels correspondent hinted heavily that the French would be better able to safeguard Catholicism in the Netherlands, a theme amplified in the *Advis des-interessé*. France's Catholic credentials were much in evidence in 1644. At the very beginning of the year the count of Avaux, one of the French ambassadors then in The Hague *en route* to Münster, had called for the toleration of Catholic worship in the United Provinces, which caused an outcry in Dutch Reformed circles and strained diplomatic relations between the allies.<sup>177</sup> The news probably made a better impression in the Habsburg Netherlands, where the fate of Dutch Catholicism was eagerly followed.<sup>178</sup> In March, the Malatestas' Paris correspondent wrote a lengthy report (almost 250 words) on the beginning rigorist controversy in France.<sup>179</sup> In the midst of the major military push which followed Rocroi, and on the eve of the Münster peace congress, the agenda of French propagandists and opinion-brokers seems to have been to convince Catholic opinion at home and abroad (especially in Flanders and Italy) that victory for Louis XIV would be for the greater glory of God, rather than of France's Protestant allies.

Other stories of a decidedly Catholic tint were less directly an occasion for controversy between Catholics. One of the first stories of the year from London was that of the execution on 21 December 1643 of Arthur Bell, 'A very learned and pious Father of the Order of St Francis',<sup>180</sup> who 'with great constancy' suffered hanging, drawing and quartering 'after the fashion of this country'.<sup>181</sup> The execution of priests had resumed in the summer of 1641, after over a decade of relative tolerance, and Fr Bell was the twelfth martyr of the 1640s. On 17 September 1644 two more priests died at Tyburn: the secular priest John

177 P.J. Blok, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*, vol. 4 (Groningen, 1899), p. 417.

178 E.g. *PO* 1639 no. 39 (9 Sept.), 'Ceux de Harlem [...] ont publié il y a quelques semaines, un placart rigoureux, par lequel ils ont defendu bien severement aux Prestres Catholiques, sur des grandes amendes & chastiement corporel, de ne venir à leur ville, &c. Le temps nous enseignera, s'ils l'executeront'; no. 40 (16 Sept.), 'On a escrit d'Amsterdam, que ceux de Harlem mettent en execution bien rigoureusement les placars nagueres publiés contre les Prestres Catholiques [...]'.  
 179 'Havendo in quella Città il Dottore Arnault huomo molto stimato nelle lettere, composto, e publicato un libro, nel quale pretende provare il contrario di ciò, che fù scritto à mesi passati da quei Padri Gesuiti intorno la frequenza della Communione, la Regina non approvando tal cosa [...]; *Milano* (13 April); further news on 20 and 27 April.

180 'Eenen zeer gheleerden ende godvruchtigen Pater van des H. Francisci orde', *NTVG* 1644 no. 1 (9 Jan.).  
 181 'à la mode de ce païs [...] avec grande constance', *NO* 1644 no. 5 (9 Jan.), p. 33. The report from Cologne (10 Jan.), *WOPZ* 4, somehow made Fr Bell a Jesuit with a Franciscan companion.

Ducket and the Jesuit Ralph Corby.<sup>182</sup> Japan had been closed to all Europeans but the Dutch since 1639, so accounts of the persecutions there were less readily available than formerly, but the literature of Catholic constancy was given a new boost by events in England, by the killing of Capuchin missionaries in Ethiopia in 1641, and by the tomahawking of French Jesuits in September 1642 and October 1644. Even this was not without its significance for Franco-Spanish rivalry. After Henrietta Maria's marriage to Charles I, France had replaced Spain as the patron of English Catholicism, and Frenchmen were the victims of the Iroquois: it was now France that basked in the reflected glory of missionary martyrs.

The sources of information changed for structural reasons connected to postal reform and economies of scale, which also enabled editors in Scandinavia to engage in newspaper production. Changes in the types of news printed would seem to have been more closely connected with political considerations of propaganda rivalry, whether courtly or Catholic. The news was still essentially the same all over Europe, but confessional and dynastic divisions were much clearer in the way it was reported, especially in devotedly propagandistic newspapers such as the *Nouvelles ordinaires* or those printed by opposing sides in the English Civil War.

The importance of warfare as a stimulus to newspaper production has been touched on. War created the ideal combination of factors: striking news of the extremes of human suffering, heightened demand among merchants and patriots, and a greater willingness on the part of governments to tolerate newspapers which might serve their interest. Not directly related to war were other developments: wide postal networks on a rationalised hub-and-spoke model, increasing divergence in the explicitly ideological complexion of the news, more detailed coverage of court life, all of which became even more pronounced in the 1650s. The flexibility of the system can again be seen in the ease with which it was modified to take account of new developments in international affairs, such as the civil war in England, and new institutions, such as the Dunkirk Admiralty and the WIC. Even so, the area covered was still that of late-medieval Latin Christendom, and the news was still overwhelmingly that

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182 'Le 17. de ce mois, furent exécutez en cette ville deux Prestres, [...] entre cinq voleurs Protestans: l'un desquels apres la prononciation de leur Arrest, voyant la constance de ces deux bons Prestres qui mouroyent volontairement pour le maintien de la foy Catholique, se convertit à ladite foy [...] Laquelle exécution fut d'autant plus signalée, qu'elle fut faite en présence des Ambassadeurs & Résidens de France, d'Espagne, de Portugal & de Venize [...]', London (22 Sept.), NO 122 (2 Oct.). See also Jean Chifflet, *Palmae Cleri Anglicani* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1645), p. 75.



of courts, parliaments, armies, shipping and government finance. Perhaps the most important change was the embedding of newspaper reading in social life. After the explosion of news printing which occurred across Europe at various periods in 1630–1645, governments might seek to influence and control the flow and bias of printed news reports, but they could hardly suppress them entirely. Newspapers had come to stay.

## Managing Reputation and Controlling the Press, 1649–1700

As has already been mentioned above, it was only after the conclusion of the peace treaties of Münster and Osnabruck that the Habsburg Netherlands acquired something comparable to Renaudot's *Gazette* or *Nouvelles ordinaires*. This was a privileged newspaper, printed in Brussels, mostly under the title *Relations véritables*. It became the official gazette of the Brussels court, with institutional continuity until 1791, although under the title *Gazette de Bruxelles* from 1741, and as the *Gazette des Pays-Bas* from 1759.<sup>1</sup> While comparable to the Parisian *Gazette* in function, it was not by any means identical: control of the press remained far more devolved and disparate in Flanders and Brabant than it ever was in France.

### Opposing Renaudot

The first issue of what was to become the *Relations véritables* was published in Brussels probably in late August 1649, under the title *Courier véritable des Pays-Bas*. The first two issues were undated, but contained news datelined Brussels 27 August and 3 September respectively; issue no. 3 was dated 12 September. While earlier newspapers had stressed their informative and entertaining content, the *Courier's* founder, the franc-comtois lawyer Pierre Hugonet, specifically founded his paper to oppose the 'lies' of the French *Nouvelles ordinaires* with 'true reports'.<sup>2</sup> He applied for a licence, but the application took a long time to process. In the meantime, as he had presumably spent some months laying the groundwork for his newspaper's first issue (which contained reports from as far away as Ireland, Spain and Italy, as well as from London, Paris, Brussels itself, and various locations within the Habsburg Netherlands), he commenced publication regardless, sending off a note to the Council asking that the process of licensing be expedited, but without mentioning his intention to proceed unlicensed. It was to be almost two months later, on 12 October, that the Privy Council, in the King's name, adjudged the *Courier* 'not to be

1 Cordemans, 'Het oudst-bewaarde nieuwsblad te Brussel', p. 263.

2 Editorial in first issue.

without use to our service and to the reputation of our armed forces' and granted a licence, and a monopoly on French-language news publishing in the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup> Usual practice with the issuing of licenses was that the justificatory arguments in a successful application would simply be reworded by the clerk of the Privy Council (for instance so that 'Your Majesty' became 'we'). The wording of the licence therefore probably follows that of Hugonet's application fairly closely.

The language in which Hugonet had couched his licence application would thus seem to have been that of the reputation of the Spanish monarchy, and more particularly of its armies. Like Verhoeven thirty years before, he saw (or wished those in power to see) his primary role as providing news of victories. No direct comparison between Verhoeven's *Tijdinghen* and Hugonet's *Relations véritables* is possible. The one was published in Dutch by an artisan, in a city of businessmen and craftsmen, during the war with the Dutch. The other was published over fifteen years later in French by a lawyer, in a city of courtiers and councillors, during the war with France. But there are certain striking similarities and differences. Where Verhoeven relied on news about the war in the Empire from Prague and Vienna as his staple correspondence, Hugonet's focus was Flanders and Italy, and the war against the French. In his reporting on the war against France he was conducting a personal propaganda war against the Parisian gazetteer Renaudot. Just as Verhoeven consciously opposed the reliability of his reports to the mendacity of those emanating from Amsterdam, so Hugonet publicly declared his purpose to be the independent presentation of more accurate reports on the war than those provided by Mazarin's pensioner. Hugonet adopted a newsbook format, but without headlines or woodcuts.

Hugonet was the first editor-proprietor in the Habsburg Netherlands not to print his newspaper himself, the printing being contracted out first to Jan Mommaert the younger, and later to Goddefroy Schoovaerds and Willem Scheybels. The change of printer coincides with the issuing of the royal licence: when the *Courier véritable* was still technically illegal it was being printed by Mommaert, printer to the States of Brabant;<sup>4</sup> from the sixth issue (9 Oct.), the printing was carried out by Schoovaerds, and from the eleventh (6 Nov.) by Willem Scheybels.<sup>5</sup> But whoever did the actual printing, the point of sale was a

3 'pas inutile a nostre service et a la reputation de nos armes'. ARB, GRSP, 1279/153.

4 The position of printer to the city of Brussels, previously held by Jan Mommaert the elder and his widow, had passed to Martinus Bossuyt.

5 There were periods when the printer's name did not appear at all, and the timing of the changes was identified on the basis of the type by M. Cordemans, 'Het oudst-bewaarde nieuwblad te Brussel', *ESDB*, 17 (1934), p. 256.

more permanent location: 'la Boutique de Guillaume Hacquebaud, vis à vis de la Porte des Ecoles des RR. PP. Jesuites'. The Jesuit complex of schools, church and house filled most of a block near to the Steenpoort in the medieval city wall and to the Paardemarkt or Zavel just beyond, the most aristocratic of the suburbs enclosed by the new fortifications.<sup>6</sup> The *porta collegii* was on the Ruysbroeckstraat and the properties opposite it backed onto the Hof van Nassau.<sup>7</sup> The court was a short walk uphill, the main square and city hall only a slightly longer walk downhill. Hacquebaud's shop was not quite in the heart of the most up-market part of the city, but it was well within the fringes. From the following year's issue no. 19 (14 May 1650), the *Courier véritable des Pays-Bas* changed its name to *Relations véritables*, the title it retained for the next ninety years. Saturday was the day of publication.

Throughout this time, Hugonet had been receiving an ever-widening spread of correspondence. From the very first issues there were weekly reports from Brussels, Liège, London, Milan, Naples, Paris, Rome, Venice and Vienna. Although not quite weekly, there was more than one report from Madrid in each of the first twelve calendar months of publication. From issue no. 11 (6 November) there were regular reports from Genoa, from Bordeaux as of no. 14 (27 November), and from Turin from no. 18 (24 December). Warsaw was added in the first issue of 1650, and Dijon in the fourteenth (9 April). For almost a year Vienna was the only regular source of news from the Empire. As of Wednesday 22 June 1650 an unnumbered issue with imperial, Scandinavian and Polish news was published each Wednesday to supplement the numbered Saturday issues. Only if the Saturday or Wednesday was also Christmas or New Year was the pattern disrupted, publication being brought forward one day.<sup>8</sup> Unlike Verhoeven, Hugonet seldom missed a day, although publication seems to have been suspended from 4 December 1655 to 22 January 1656, for reasons it has not been possible to recover.<sup>9</sup> Again unlike Verhoeven, who was content to leave his readers to make up their own minds about later reports which contradicted earlier ones, Hugonet also printed explicit corrections.<sup>10</sup> On other occasions, though, he found synthesis beyond him, as when English and Dutch

6 Henne & Wauters, vol. 3, p. 179.

7 Joan Blaeu, 'Bruxella' (1649), reproduced in Lisette Danckaert, *Brussel: Vijf eeuwen cartografie* (Tielt, 1989), pp. 38–39. Roughly where the Royal Library and Central State Archive now stand.

8 E.g. Christmas 1649, 1658; New Year 1650.

9 On Verhoeven's production rhythms, see above pp. 105–108.

10 E.g. 'L'article de Cambray de ces Relations corrige quelques fautes survenues en celui de Valenciennes de mecredi dernier touchant la sortie de Mons de S.A. Serme. & la marche de l'armée', note at end of *RV* 1652 no. 28 (13 July).

sources both claimed victory in a naval engagement off Livorno in the first Anglo-Dutch war: 'From the one and the other, you must form what judgement you please in order to discern the truth'.<sup>11</sup>

The Wednesday edition brought together reports which travelled along three postal routes to Brussels: Danzig-Hamburg-Amsterdam, Vienna/Prague-Regensburg-Frankfurt-Cologne, and Basel-Strasbourg-Liège. The Saturday edition, although twice as long, only regularly printed reports from two postal routes: the Italian post brought by the Tassis service, with regular reports from Naples, Rome, Turin, Genoa, Milan and Venice, and the Parisian post, by which Hugonet's extensive French correspondence was forwarded. It has not been possible to ascertain how closely this division corresponds with the postal timetables of mid-century Brussels. If domestic news and news from Liège be excepted, the distinction might be linguistic: regular reports from Germanic language areas appeared mid-week, those from Romance language areas on Saturday. Simeček's statements that Central and Eastern European affairs were not of great interest to Hugonet and that his reporting of imperial affairs relied almost exclusively on Vienna are based on a study of the newspaper collection in the Piccolomini family archives, in which only seven of the eighty-eight issues are mid-week editions.<sup>12</sup> Simeček's statements hold for the first nine months of publication, but not after June 1650, when the Wednesday supplements with news from a number of northern cities began to appear.

Messages which came by sea were less predictable. At first the London news was usually printed in the Wednesday edition, the Spanish on the Saturday, but this was not invariably so. In 1653 the London news moved to the Saturday edition as of 31 May, so that it was only nine days old when printed, rather than thirteen; but in 1654 it proved impossible to keep this speed up and the reports from London moved back and forth between Saturday and Wednesday editions, before settling on the Saturday in January 1655, and finally shifting back to the Wednesday from September 1656 onwards. News from Madrid took anything from 30 to 40 days to appear in print in Brussels and does not fit the neat postal timetables which can be reconstructed for most other sources: of the fourteen reports printed in 1652, one took less than 30 days (27) and one more than 40 days (42); the median was 34 and the average 35. Of the news from Spain, only the occasional reports from Perpignan and Gerona appear to have come overland through France, and invariably appeared in Saturday issues

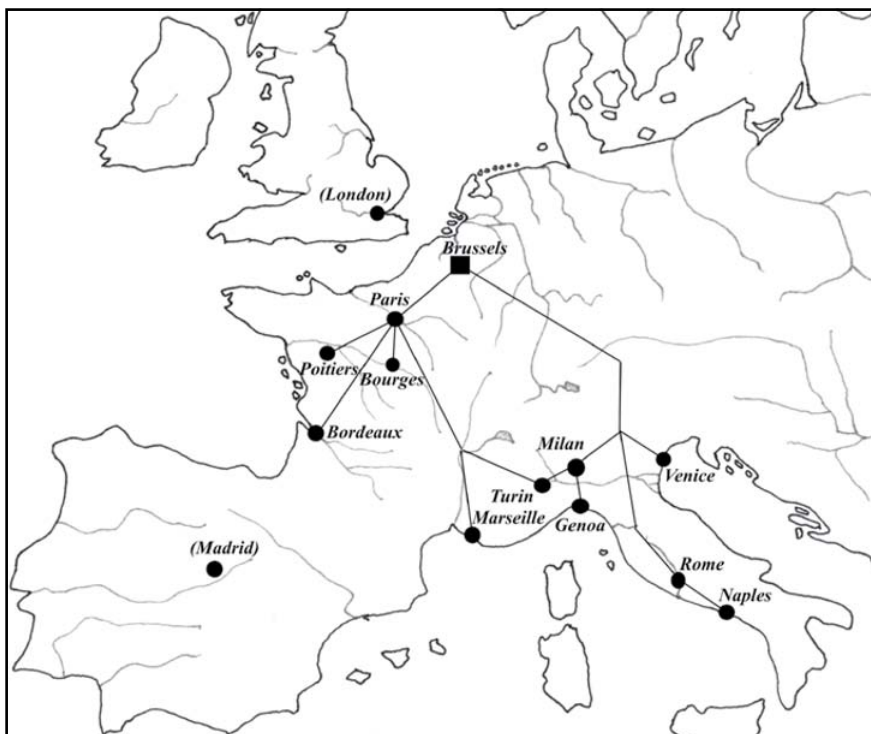
11 'Des uns & des autres vous formerez tel jugement qu'il vous plaira pour y discerner la verité'. Note at end of *RV* 1653 no. 13 (29 March).

12 Simeček, 'The First Brussels, Antwerp and Amsterdam Newspapers', p. 1106.

together with the French news: news from Madrid, like that from San Sebastian, would seem to have come by sea (Maps 4 and 5).

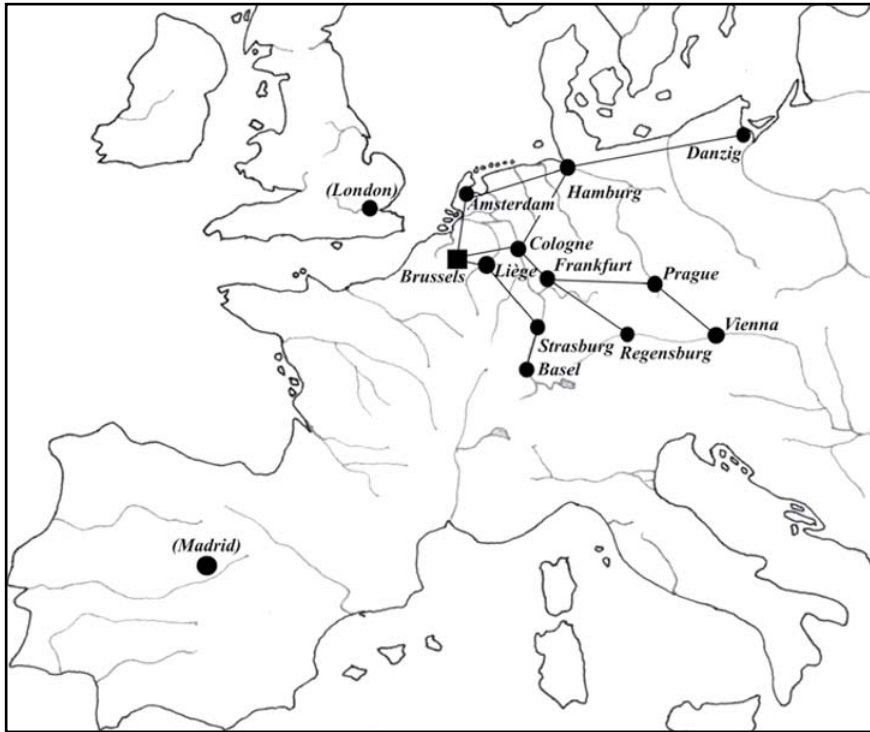
One suspects that the earlier newspaper publishers, all of whom were printers by profession, took to news publication as an investment, in an attempt to ensure a weekly income in the same way that almanacs had always guaranteed an annual income. Hugonet seems to have been concerned more with the personal prestige of opinion-brokering, and gained nothing but debts from his enterprise. The *Courier*, priced at three stivers the issue, was intended for an up-market and international readership, especially as French was not even the first language of the civic elite in Brussels, only of the governor general's household and the royal councils.<sup>13</sup>

There are other signs that the readership Hugonet envisaged was a cut above the average reader of the newspapers printed in Dutch. A variety of books was



MAP 4 *Regular sources of news in Saturday editions of the Relations véritables (1652–1653), with the routes between them and Brussels.*

13 De Ridder, 'Publicatieboeken', pp. 123–168.



MAP 5 *Regular sources of news in Wednesday editions of the Relations véritables (1652–1653), with the routes between them and Brussels.*

advertised in the Dutch press, chronicles and atlases predominating but poetry, sermons and other genres also present. The only advertisement found in Hugonet's *Relations véritables* was for Sr. de Launay's *Livre de la Noblesse de Brabant*.<sup>14</sup> The international and courtly readership of Hugonet's paper is further borne out by the subscriptions of Parisian Dominicans and of the Piccolomini and Liechtenstein families in the Czech lands.<sup>15</sup> The Antwerp newspapers continued to be sold in Brussels to the end of the century, if not longer, to meet the market needs of more humble readers.<sup>16</sup> In fact, Brussels does not appear to have had the readership base necessary to support a more popular newspaper printed in the city. This may partly have been due to the local focus of Brussels craft production, making international information less

14 RV 1651 unno. (9 Aug.).

15 BNP MP 1151 (ex libris); Simeček, op. cit., pp. 1104–1105.

16 Deposition of the Archpriest of Brussels, 20 May 1691, ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5882, 190 no. 58.

valuable, as well as to the relatively low proportion of literate inhabitants. The educational institutions of the city did not survive the Calvinist dictatorship of the early 1580s, and serious attempts at structured educational provision, beyond the elite Augustinian and Jesuit colleges (founded in 1601 and 1604 respectively), did not begin until the later 1620s.<sup>17</sup>

In 1653 Hugonet requested government aid for a newspaper which had shown itself so useful as an organ 'to oppose the injurious writings of the French'.<sup>18</sup> All he asked was that he be granted a full monopoly on news publication, suppressing any competition in the Habsburg Netherlands. The request was granted on 5 June 1653, with an additional clause that someone be appointed 'to visit and where necessary correct the relations before they are printed'.<sup>19</sup> The arrangement was close to that suggested in 1640 by Hovyne, who in 1653 was finally appointed to the Presidency of the Privy Council which had in effect been vacant since Roose's departure for Spain in 1649.<sup>20</sup> Hugonet somewhat sycophantically reported that Hovyne's appointment met with 'universal approval and applause'.<sup>21</sup> It is unclear whether any press officer was immediately appointed, the next reference being in January 1656, when Albert Rubens, secretary to the Privy Council and son of the famous painter, was named 'visiteur' of the gazette.<sup>22</sup> This may have been a result of a promise made the previous month by Leopold-William's deputy, the Count of Fuensaldaña, that measures would be taken to satisfy Mazarin's complaints about the personal attacks of the 'gazetier de Bruxelles'.<sup>23</sup>

Hugonet tried to gain more direct government support again in 1655, when concern about public opinion was activated at the highest level by the publication of libels written by a frustrated young aristocrat and cavalry captain, Maximilian, count of Merode.<sup>24</sup> Merode admitted to authorship and confessed

17 L. Ceyskens, 'Henri Calenus et l'enseignement primaire à Bruxelles, 1624–1625', *Cahiers bruxellois* 11 (1966), pp. 73–87.

18 'opposer aux écrits injurieux des françois', ARB, GRSP, 1279/153.

19 'una persona que visite y corrija si fuere necessario las relaciones antes que se imp<sup>s</sup>'. ARB, GRSP, 1279/153. Albert Rubens was the oldest son of Peter Paul Rubens, and had been tutored as a child by Gaspar Gevartius, whose link with Verhoeven was mentioned in chapter 2.

20 Veerle Van Goolen, 'Leopold-Willem', unpubl. lic. thesis (Leuven, 1982), p. 122.

21 'approbation & applaudissement universels'. RV 1653 no. 52 (27 Dec.).

22 ARB, GRSP, 1279/168.

23 Mazarin to Fuensaldaña, 27 Nov. 1655, in G. d'Avenal (ed.), *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin pendant son ministère*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1893), p. 593; same to same, 24 Dec. 1655, in *ibid.*, p. 600.

24 On Merode's libels, see CCE, vol. 4, pp. 488–495; Baron de Reiffenberg (ed.), *Mémoires du Comte de Mérode d'Ongnies* (Mons, 1840), pp. 71–72.



that his writing had been put into print at the instigation of Charles Verreycken.<sup>25</sup> Although Merode did not say so, and no link was found, the governor-general clearly suspected that the young and inexperienced Verreycken, who had taken over from his father as audiencier a few years before, was acting under the influence of the disgraced Roose, a secret party to the 'malcontent'.<sup>26</sup> Merode's punishment was to be stripped of his commission as an officer, and relegated to his estates.<sup>27</sup> It was also in 1655 that steps were again taken against the printing of unlicensed almanacs, the Officer Fiscal of the Council of Brabant instituting proceedings against Widow Cnobbaert, Jacques Meesens and the Verhulst brothers.<sup>28</sup> The same year also saw a new heresy edict, threatening punishment on Protestant missionaries from the North who had been trickling into the country in increasing numbers since 1648, and perhaps also reflecting a fear (expressed in similar edicts in Holland) of missionaries from new English sects such as the Quakers.<sup>29</sup>

In this context, Hugonet made a more ambitious application for government aid. First he sketched the life of the editor-proprietor, 'always vexed and importuned by his creditors, without being able to satisfy them', suffering 'the notable enfeeblement of his health, due to the long and continual application to which this occupation obliges him'.<sup>30</sup> All he asked, having thus ruined his finances and health in unremunerated royal service, was that he be provided with an effective monopoly (his monopoly so far being in name alone), the title of a royal servant without pay or salary as such—the ensuing tax exemptions being sufficient—and a life pension on the income of the titular abbacy of Montbenoit in Burgundy, which had recently fallen vacant: the government would have a subsidised gazette without the treasury having to pay out a penny. The application was supported by a notarised copy of a letter of recommendation written on 26 May 1653 by another franc-comtois jurist, and Hugonet's

25 Merode's sister had married Claude Richardot in 1651, a society wedding at which the duke of Lorraine was among the guests, but the archduke was not: *RV* 1651, unnumbered (31 May).

26 *CCE*, vol. 4, p. 488.

27 Fernando González de León, *The Road to Rocroi: Class, Culture and Command in the Spanish Army of Flanders* (Brill History of Warfare 52; Leiden, 2009), pp. 363–364.

28 *ARB*, *OFRB*, liasse 632, dossier 5883, 190 nos 5–9.

29 Thijs, *Geuzenstad*, p. 54; H.A. Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid* (Groningen, 1972), pp. 72–74. This edict did not affect the unofficial toleration extended to the *Brabantsche Olijfberg* in Antwerp.

30 'toujours vexé et importuné de ses creanciers, sans y pouvoir satisfaire', 'l'affoiblissement notable de sa santé, provenant de la longue et continuelle application, à quoi l'oblige cette occupation'. Letter of application and response both in *ARB*, *GRSP*, 1279/157.

companion in arms from the siege of Dole, the famous diplomat Antoine Brun. Hugonet would seem to have expressed his gratitude by adding a eulogistic curriculum vitae to the news of Brun's appointment as *Chef de Finances*.<sup>31</sup> Brun, who was aligned with Hovyne in the factions of the Brussels government, had presumably written the letter to support Hugonet's earlier application in 1653, but too late for it to be of use.<sup>32</sup> The response on this occasion was disappointing: simply a reaffirmation of his monopoly, with no subsidy or pension.<sup>33</sup> It must have galled Hugonet to have to report in his newspaper the following year that the marquis of Marnay had been nominated to the abbacies of Montbenoit and Baume.<sup>34</sup>

The visual and literary style of the newspaper and the rhythm of production were copied from Renaudot, the very publisher Hugonet set out to oppose. But although the *Courier véritable* bears every appearance of an officially sponsored propaganda gazette like Renaudot's, this was not in fact the case.<sup>35</sup> Much as Hugonet would have liked to be a pensioned gazetteer, what Steele was to call 'the lowest officer of state', the authorities were slow to agree to any measure which would commit funds or manpower to pensioning or censoring a newspaper.

Renaudot was Mazarin's *gazettier* and his *Nouvelles ordinaires* was a publication of reputation sold in both France and the Low Countries. In opposing himself to it, Hugonet was particularly interested in reports from Italy and Flanders, to counter Renaudot's claims of French military successes, and from France itself, giving a journalistic voice to Catholic opposition against Mazarin's rule. In its first few years of publication, Hugonet's newspaper appears to have functioned almost as much as a propaganda organ for the Frondeurs as for the

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31 'Jeudi matin Messire Antoine Brun Chevalier prit possession de la charge de Chef de Finances, que le Roi a voulu adjoûter aux autres emplois & charges, qu'il lui avoit déjà confiées en divers tems & occasions importantes, Aiant été appelé aux Diettes de Ratisbone & Francfort, à l'assemblée Electorale à Vienne touchant les affaires du Palatinat, & en celle de Munster pour la paix generale en qualité de Plenipotentiaire & Ambassadeur extraordinaire, & depuis envoyé au Roi d'Angleterre la même qualité, & auprès des Etats generaux des Provinces unies en celle d'Ambassadeur ordinaire, où il assiste depuis plus de 4. ans avec grande approbation, Aiant de plus servi auparavant fort glorieusement Se Mté. en la deffence de la Bourgongne, comm' il se peut voir par l'histoire du siege de Dole & autres témoignages publiques', Brussels (8 Nov.), *RV* 1653 no. 45 (8 Nov.).

32 On the factions aligned in support of or opposition to Roose, see Van Goolen, 'Leopold-Willem', p. 120.

33 ARB, GRSP, 1279/157.

34 Brussels (22 April), *RV* 1656, unnumbered (22 April).

35 On Renaudot and his newspapers, see Solomon, *Public Welfare*.

House of Habsburg. This is hardly surprising: we have seen how various oppositional groups in France, Holland and the British Isles used the Habsburg Netherlands as a propaganda base at one time or another, and the Fronde was the most considerable oppositional movement in mid-century France. If a good part of the domestic news in Renaudot's gazette emphasized national unity, the *Relations véritables* was rather different. There was very little domestic news beyond war news from Flanders and court news from Brussels. Instead the extensive coverage of French affairs gave a very different image of that nation as united in opposition to the tyranny of Mazarin. Indeed, Hugonet referred sarcastically to Renaudot's portrayal of 'this great union of the Court of France, the divisions in which daily produce such public and such strange effects, Of the peoples of the same realm so well affectioned, who refuse both with impunity and with justice all that would be imposed upon them; Of the Princes who were such criminals & of the Minister once so zealous and so intelligent, who are now recognised in the same writings to have been neither the one nor the other; And in fine a thousand other similar tales'.<sup>36</sup>

Apart from its legal and military challenges to the policies of the royal minister, the Fronde saw a massive assault on Mazarin's reputation in the form of hundreds of polemical and satirical pamphlets, the Mazarinades. Numerous Mazarinades were published or republished by Netherlandish printers. Hubert Carrier has noted that most large collections of Mazarinades contain whole volumes of Flemish reprints, and for the Frondeurs, as for the English Royalists, Holland was as important a publishing centre as Brabant.<sup>37</sup> Nor was this only true of Frondeur pamphlets: some royal declarations were reprinted in the Low Countries, and Martin Binnart in Antwerp even reprinted the *Raisonnement sur les affaires presentes de la France Et leur comparaison avec celles d'Angleterre*, a pamphlet which attempted to discredit the Frondeur Princes by showing their similarity to the leaders of the Great Rebellion in England. But it is not clear whether this was primarily for export to France or for the local and international market, where people were naturally curious to see how the leading

36 'cette grande union de la Cour de France, dont les divisions produisent tous les jours des effets si publiques & si étranges, Des peuples du même Roiaume si affectionnés, qui refusent impunément ainsi que justement tout ce qu'on veut exiger; De ces Princes qui ont été si criminels & de son Ministre ci devant si zélé & si intelligent, qui sont présentement tous reconnus dans ses mêmes écrits ne l'être & ne l'avoir point été; Et enfin de mille autres contes semblables'. Editorial note in *RV* 1651 no. 13 (1 April).

37 'Il exista dans la plupart des grosses collections de Mazarinades des recueils entiers de ces impressions en français réalisées en Flandres'. loc. cit.

figure in French political life was satirised.<sup>38</sup> Translations into Dutch and Italian show that there was considerable interest in the Low Countries and in Italy in news of the views being expressed in France (or at the very least interest in promoting such views abroad), and there would have been just as eager a French-language readership in Wallonia, Burgundy, Piedmont and Savoy.<sup>39</sup> Just as clearly, the Netherlands could serve as a place of printing for the French market, and some Mazarinades were printed first in the Low Countries and afterwards reprinted in France.<sup>40</sup> In 1650, Mme de Longueville had a number of pieces printed in the Low Countries while she was in exile at Stenay, certainly for export to France.<sup>41</sup>

At first sight it is paradoxical that, in setting himself up to answer Renaudot, Hugonet adopted a newspaper style and format as close to the *Nouvelles ordinaires* as can be imagined. But this was presumably a deliberate choice: to lead the reader to a familiar-looking window, but to show a very different view. Just as Verhoeven's *Tijdinghen* seem to have been intended for a readership throughout the Dutch language area, it seems fair to surmise that Hugonet's newspaper, certainly at first, was intended to be read in France as much as in the Low Countries, or in other words, wherever Renaudot's gazette was read. It is known to have been read in Brussels and Paris, and Hugonet's correspondence with Bordeaux, Rheims, Toulouse, Nantes and Marseille, to name only the most regular French contributors, was probably not one-way. Single courtesy copies sent back to correspondents hardly amounts to 'distribution', but the very existence of these connections shows something of the extent of Hugonet's potential business contacts in France.

It is also significant of concern on the part of Renaudot that he thought the *Relations véritables* worth answering directly, although even while doing so he made much of his reluctance to give any attention to so unworthy an organ. In March 1650 he printed a page-long criticism of Hugonet, essentially to demonstrate that 'All that he says is either trivial and known to lackeys, or else a plain lie'.<sup>42</sup> How, he asked, could anybody hope to get away with such 'gross impostures' as that Mazarin was unpopular, when 'His Eminence is so esteemed and loved by both great and small'? Anybody thinking otherwise could only be one of 'those few poor Frenchmen whose passion or private interest has separated

38 Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde, 1648–1653: Les Mazarinades*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1989), p. 472.

39 Carrier, *La Presse*, pp. 469–476.

40 Carrier, *La Presse*, p. 473.

41 Carrier, *La Presse*, p. 75.

42 'Tout ce qu'il dit est, ou trivial & sceu des Laquais, ou bien un pur mensonge'. NO 1650 no. 45 (26 March).

from the common voice'.<sup>43</sup> He was particularly put out that Hugonet contrasted his own independence and veracity with the bias enforced on the French gazette, the very name of which he rejected for his own publication. Renaudot responded that Hugonet, in writing of princely affairs without being properly accredited, was 'like the false coiner who not only counterfeits the prince's character, but prints it on inferior stuff'. The rejection of the name gazette appears also to have stung him, for he replied that Hugonet 'not being a veteran like he whom he taxes, but a six-months' apprentice, is not worthy of giving his works this name: which I took in order to speak to the vulgar, however much I labour to be informed by the learned'.<sup>44</sup>

In December, Renaudot returned to the attack, with a special edition entitled *Rejet des Calomnies écrites de Bruxelles contre la France & ses Gazettes*.<sup>45</sup> This began with an entertaining personal attack on Hugonet:

last year in Dole a lawyer without cases, whence the profligacy that had ruined him forced him to depart as quietly as he could and without taking leave of his landlord; this not from fear that his furniture would be seized, for he had kept house in such style that he had not had any for six or seven months [...].<sup>46</sup>

but soon descended into the same vehement but vague denials of Mazarin's unpopularity and his own unreliability. Hugonet responded on 24 December with a lengthy editorial polemic of his own against the calumnies of 'this veteran liar',<sup>47</sup> whose privilege he was later to refer to as a 'licence to lie and calumniate'.<sup>48</sup>

43 'Son Eminence [...] est tellement estimée & chérie des grands & des petits, 'ce peu de mauvais François, que leur passion ou interest particulier ont séparé de la voix commune'. *NO* 1650 loc. cit.

44 'pareil au faux-monnoyeur qui ne contreferoit pas seulement le caractère du Prince, mais l'imprimeroit sur une mauvaise estoffe', 'n'estant pas encor vétéran comme celui qu'il taxe, mais un apprentif de six mois, il ne mérite pas qu'on donne à ses ouvrages ce nom: que j'ay pris pour parler avec le vulgaire, autant que je tasche d'estre de l'avis des doctes'; loc. cit. The sensitivity may be explained by the pejorative connotations of the words 'gazette' and 'gazettier'. I am grateful to Mario Infelise for his advice on this point.

45 *NO* 1650 no. 180 (9 Dec.).

46 'l'année passé a Dole Avocat sans cause: d'où les débauches qui l'ont ruié l'ont obligé de sortir à petit bruit & sans dire adieu à son hoste, non de crainte qu'il n'arrestast ses meubles: car il a si bien vescu de ménage, qu'il y avoit six ou sept mois qu'il n'en avoit plus'.

47 'ce veteran menteur'. *RV* 1650 no. 51 (24 Dec.). Quoted in full in Simeček, op. cit., pp. 1107–1108.

48 'licence à mentir & calomnier'. Editorial note in *RV* 1651 no. 13 (1 April).

In the less heady days of the later 1650s, when the Spanish Monarchy was eager to end the war as quickly as reputation would allow, Hugonet was more enthusiastic in his assaults on the French than was convenient for royal policy. As we have seen, in November 1655 Mazarin wrote to Fuensaldaña to complain about Hugonet's attacks, and a month later wrote again thanking him for the measures he had promised to take.<sup>49</sup> But these measures seem not to have been sufficient. On 23 December 1656 Philip IV wrote to Don Juan ordering him on no account to consent to the printing of any 'manifesto, paper or gazette' concerning the government of France or attacking Mazarin.<sup>50</sup> The Cardinal was taking these insults very seriously, especially in the light of past assurances that they would be stopped. The article which Mazarin found particularly offensive was presumably that dated Paris, 15 September 1656, beginning

Cardinal Mazarin, seeing that all are constantly murmuring against his conduct, and giving no more indication than ever of desiring peace, last week published an edict that capitally prohibits speaking or writing any news, or even receiving any from other lands, so that the people will not know the bad estate of the kingdom's affairs, and the necessity of ending the war, which this minister wishes to render perpetual...<sup>51</sup>

Firmly in control of Renaudot's *Nouvelles ordinaires*, Mazarin perhaps found it hard to comprehend that the opinions of the 'gazeta de Bruselas' did not directly reflect the attitude of those in power in Brussels or Madrid. For their part, the councils in Brussels seem to have been happier to keep such stuff at arm's length.

It is not clear whether Hugonet was successfully reined in. As late as March 1658, Mazarin was being accused of allowing 'the credit of Protector Cromwell' to prevail over the 'considerations and interests of Religion'.<sup>52</sup> Not that Hugonet

49 G. d'Avenal (ed.), *Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1893), pp. 593, 600.

50 'manifesto, papel ni gaceta'. British Library, Additional Manuscript 14000, fo. 241-242v, as communicated by John Elliott.

51 'Le Cardinal Mazarin voiant, que tout le monde murmuroit toûjours contre sa conduite, & témoignoit plus que jamais de vouloir la paix, fit la semaine passée publier un édit, portant defences sur peine de la vie de parler ni écrire d'aucunes nouvelles, ni même en recevoir des païs étrangers, afin que le peuple ne sçache pas le mauvais état des affaires du Roiaume, & la nécessité de finir la guerre, que ce Ministre veut rendre perpetuelle'. *RV* 1656 no. 36 (23 September).

52 'le credit du Protecteur Cromwel', 'raisons & intérets de la Religion'. Paris (22 March), *RV* 1658 no. 13 (30 March).

was in any way unique, or even particularly extreme, in his views on Mazarin. In a surprising return to the explicitly anti-Machiavellian themes of the 1590s, three anonymous Dutch pamphlets, printed (apparently in Cologne) in 1656, 1657 and 1658, developed with verve the notion that Cromwell, Mazarin and Charles X Gustavus were working in concord to undermine Catholicism and the rights of princes and peoples.<sup>53</sup>

Only in 1659, when the peace was close to conclusion, did Hugonet's stance mellow and did reports of Mazarin treat him as a statesman rather than a scheming tyrant. By July 1659 he could even be placed alongside Don Luis de Haro as one of 'the two prime Ministers of the two Greatest Monarchs of the world'.<sup>54</sup> With the peace finalised, Hugonet's coverage of French affairs changed dramatically, as did Renaudot's of news from Brussels: from mid-1659 he appears to have co-operated with Renaudot to ensure that the gazettes of Paris and Brussels reciprocally printed one another's versions of events.

### *The Relations véritables and Princely Reputation*

If opposing Renaudot was initially Hugonet's primary aim, he also intended more positively to present an image of Habsburg power and piety. His launching of a newspaper for an international courtly readership, and for distribution in France, coincided with the arrival in the Netherlands of the Archduke Leopold-William, the end of the war against the Dutch, and the beginning of the Fronde, a sequence of events which heralded a remarkable recovery of Spanish fortunes and Habsburg reputation in the Netherlands.<sup>55</sup> Leopold-William's entries in 1648, as the first governor general of royal blood since Don Ferdinand's death in 1641, was the signal for a renewal of public ceremony and news printing and pamphleteering in much the same way as Ferdinand's had

53 *Kort beworp vande dry teghenwoordighe aenmerckens-weerdighe wonderheden des wereldts* (n.p.d.), with a nihil obstat dated Cologne, 1656; *Den Nieuwen Tour a la Mode* (n.p., 1657); and *Nieuw Treur-spel ende vertoogh* (Liège, 'naer de Cope van Ceulen', 1658). The stylistic unity of the three pamphlets suggests a common author, but no likely candidate has yet been identified.

54 'On écrit de Paris, que le Cardinal Mazarin en est parti le 25. du passé, accompagné de plusieurs Seigneurs de cette Cour là, pour aller aux frontières d'Espagne, s'abboucher avec le Comte Duc Dom Louïs de Haro, qui devoit aussi partir de Madrid le 15. du passé, à même dessein de mettre la dernière main à ce grand oeuvre de la paix, que ces deux premiers Ministres des deux plus Grands Monarques du monde ont si fort avancé, suivant les intentions & les ordres de Leurs Mtez', Brussels (2 July), *RV* 1659, unnumbered (2 July).

55 See e.g. Stradling, 'Catastrophe and Recovery', pp. 210–211.

been in 1634, although more mutedly. As in 1634–35, this was in part because the arrival of the new governor-general, with a military and financial ‘surge’ to put him in place, coincided with a revival in the military fortunes of the Habsburgs. There may also be more prosaic reasons for the coincidence: the abolition of the Scheldt tolls in 1648 meant that paper could be imported from (or through) Holland more cheaply.<sup>56</sup>

The ceremonial entries staged for Leopold-William were not as grand as Ferdinand’s. After much discussion in Madrid, Leopold-William’s instructions as governor-general were modelled on those of his Austrian predecessors Ernest (1594) and Albert (1596), rather than on the wider powers of Ferdinand (1632).<sup>57</sup> Whatever his actual powers, Leopold-William modelled his courtly life and public image whenever possible on those of the sovereign archdukes, as will be discussed below. His governor-generalship also seems to have been a highpoint in the policy of involving the populace in the triumphs of the dynasty by facilitating public rejoicing, so much so that Don Juan deliberately set about toning down such events.<sup>58</sup> As an Austrian, Leopold-William made much of the common interests of the two branches of the dynasty, and his governor-generalship was the only time that the election of an Austrian Habsburg as king of the Romans was a cause for decreeing general public celebration in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>59</sup>

The archduke’s emphasis on the common cause of the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs was replicated in Hugonet’s reports and comments. In 1654 he ran reports describing the death of Leopold-William’s nephew, Ferdinand IV, elected king of the Romans only the previous year, as having ‘plunged the whole of the Empire into mourning, besides the Emperor’s court, and is felt no less by good people throughout the rest of Christendom’.<sup>60</sup> The following issue also mentioned that ‘all good people should be sensitive to the interests of the August House [of Austria], which are those of all Christendom’.<sup>61</sup> The notion that all ‘good people’ supported common Habsburg interests (and those

56 Maurits Sabbe, ‘In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17e en 18e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland’, *Het Boek*, 2e reeks, 10 (1921), p. 286.

57 *CCE* vol. 4, pp. 2, 10–11, 22.

58 E.g. Don Juan to the Parlement of Mechelen, A. Gaillard (ed.), *Inventaire des Mémoires du Grand Conseil de Malines*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1903), no. 1565.

59 ARB, RS 163. At other times the celebration was confined to the court.

60 ‘mis en dueil tout l’empire aussi bien que la Cour de l’Empereur, & ne sera pas moins ressentie en tout le reste de Chrétienté par les gens de bien’. Luxemburg (26 July), *RV* 1654 no. 31 (1 Aug.).

61 ‘les intérêts de l’Auguste Maison, qui sont ceux de toute la Chrétienté, doive[n]t être sensibles à tous les gens de bien’. Vienna (9 July), *RV* 1654 unno. (5 Aug.).



opposing them therefore could not be good) was a strong one in the Brussels gazette, which covered not only the courts of Brussels and Vienna, but also the doings of the governor of Milan, the viceroy of Naples, the half-Habsburg king of Poland, and lesser Habsburg princes.<sup>62</sup> As so often, there was a hole at the political centre: the court of the king of Spain was seldom a source or a subject of reporting, and news from Madrid usually concerned the wars in Catalonia and Portugal, and the movements of foreign diplomats to and from Spain. The illusion of national unity which Renaudot sought to propagate even during the Fronde is not to be found in the *Relations véritables*, which simply ignores the provincial echoes of the court's concerns. Rather than show how the cities and great noble families of the Habsburg Netherlands harmoniously orbited the Sol Austriaca, each in its own sphere, Hugonet's design was to show the disunity of the French and the international unity of the Habsburg cause. Rather than the great men of the Netherlands, Hugonet's firmament comprised the great men of the whole complex of Habsburg monarchies. This meant that in 1656, when Don Juan became governor-general of the Netherlands and the Count of Fuensaldaña became governor of Milan, the one was long familiar to Hugonet's readers from the reconquest of Catalonia, and the other's career was kept before the public gaze through regular reports from Milan.

The newspapers of Vienna, Milan, Genoa and Naples show comparable interests. Each of these newspapers replicated the official version of events provided by the others. If there had never previously been more newspapers, there had perhaps also never been as much government control of the press—not in the first instance through censorship, but through an active press policy implemented by pensioned gazetteers or by private individuals keen to gain favour. In this courtly system of reporting, in which Antwerp all but disappeared as a newswriting centre, Brussels was more important than ever as an international source of courtly, political and military news from the Low Countries. In Holland, the situation was reversed: after 1650 The Hague all but disappeared as a source of political newswriting, Amsterdam coming to the fore as Holland's only major international news centre and attaining a position in the European newswriting system comparable to Hamburg, Vienna and Rome.

The recovery under Leopold-William was more than military. The Archduke was determined to restore the image of the Habsburgs as a quintessentially Catholic dynasty, an image somewhat tarnished by the regime's public support

62 The two reports from Mantua in 1652, for instance, relate to the reception and departure of the Princes of Innsbruck. See Mantua (18 & 26 Feb.), *RV* nos 11 (16 March) & 12 (23 March).

for Jansenism in the face of papal condemnation and Jesuit attacks,<sup>63</sup> and the higher profile of France as the patron of missionary martyrs in England and the Americas. In 1651, Leopold-William stage-managed a request from the States of Brabant concerning the publication in the Habsburg Netherlands of *In Eminenti*, Urban VIII's 1643 bull condemning Cornelius Jansen's posthumously published *Augustinus*, which gave him a pretext for finally issuing a *placet* for the bull. This was not simply a paper exercise to bring the Netherlands into line with papal decrees: the archduke wrote to the archbishops and bishops and to the councils of justice and civic magistracies stressing that the *Augustinus*, ten years after its first publication, was finally a forbidden book which should be suppressed by every possible measure.<sup>64</sup> The royal order and the bull itself were printed in French and Dutch by Hubert Anthoon-Velpius of Brussels, and in another Dutch edition by Jan vanden Kerchove of Ghent.<sup>65</sup> This put the archduke on a collision course with influential figures devoted to the memory of Jansenius, foremost among them Jacobus Boonen, archbishop of Mechelen, and Pierre Roose, president of the Privy Council, both of whom were to fall from favour and die in disgrace. Leopold-William's propaganda offensive may in part have been prompted by his serious differences with such major political figures in Brussels.

The stricter line on Jansenism was part of a general trend in the 1650s, fundamentally modifying the confessional state built up by Albert and Isabella. There was greater tolerance of discreet religious difference, combined with increased vigilance against internal dissent. By 1657, over a century after Charles V had made heresy a crime of state, all jurisdiction in matters of religion had been relinquished to the church courts, the culmination of a period of renegotiation of confessional politics.<sup>66</sup> In 1652 the *Brabantsche Olijfberg* was founded, a tacitly tolerated Calvinist congregation in Antwerp,<sup>67</sup> and from 1656 the Dutch Republic's permanent legation in Brussels maintained a Dutch Reformed embassy chapel attended by local Protestants.<sup>68</sup> During the

63 *Raisons Pour lesquelles on n'a trouvé convenir, de publier au Diocese de Gand avec les solennitez accoustumées certaine Bulle, contre le livre du defunct Evesque d'Ipre Janssenius* (n.p., 1649); *Rationes ob quas Illustrissimus Dominus Archiepisc. Mechlin. Belgii Primas &c. à promulgatione Bullae, qua proscribitur Liber cui titulus, Cornelii Jansenii Episcopi Iprensis, Augustinus* (n.p., 1649).

64 ARB, OFRB liasse 633, dossier 5883, 190 no. 35.

65 See bibliography, pp. 211–212.

66 Aline Goossens, *Les Inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas Meridionaux, 1520–1633* (Brussels, 1997), pp. 127–129, 162–163.

67 Thijs, *Geuzenstad*, p. 53.

68 E.M. Braekmans, *Le Protestantisme à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1980), p. 33.

residence in Bruges of Charles II of Britain (1656–1659) the public profession and private practice of Anglicanism were tolerated within the city, despite the unease this caused in Madrid.<sup>69</sup> In 1653–4 there was even a project for a ghetto in the Antwerp suburb of Borgerhout, within which Judaism could be practised freely, a project that foundered on papal and royal disapproval.<sup>70</sup> This greater willingness to tolerate the discreet practice of other religions went hand in hand with a determination to suppress Jansenism and reaffirm the *pietas Austriaca*.<sup>71</sup>

Leopold-William made a deliberate and public effort to emulate Albert and Isabella, taking part in civic festivals, having customary law codified, patronising the arts and sciences, stimulating devotion to Our Lady of Halle, Scherpenheuvel and 's-Hertogenbosch, founding a new confraternity in the court chapel, and going on pilgrimages to the churches of Brussels and elsewhere.<sup>72</sup> The continuity was sometimes quite explicit in the press reports carried by Hugonet.<sup>73</sup> The archduke even associated himself with church-building projects.<sup>74</sup> This drive to restore the Monarchy's Catholic credentials is everywhere evident in the press. The news from Brussels printed in the *Relations véritables* nearly always presented the governor-general and his court at prayer or on campaign—and sometimes both at once.<sup>75</sup> The only other archducal

69 CCE vol. 4, pp. 544–545.

70 Jonathan I. Israel, 'Lopo Ramirez (David Curiel) and the Attempt to Establish a Sephardi Community in Antwerp in 1653–1654', in *Conflicts of Empires* (London & Rio Grande, 1997), pp. 211–213.

71 'le pitié naturelle à tous les Princes de l'Auguste Maison', Brussels (15 April), *RV* 1654, unnumbered (15 April).

72 See Margit Thøfner, 'The Bearing of Images', unpublished DPhil thesis (Sussex, 1996), pp. 265–268.

73 E.g. 'Dimanche 3. de ce mois fut celebrée en l'Eglise des PP. Augustins de cette ville la fête solennelle de Sainte Marie de bon Succés, dont l'Image [...] fut donnée à ces PP. & accompagnée dez le Palais jusques à leur Eglise par la Serme. Infante Isabelle d'heureuse memoire le 12. Octobre de l'an 1625. Son A. Serme. assista à la Messe & à la Procession, en laquelle fut portée cette Sainte Image', Brussels (6 May), *RV* 1654, unnumbered (6 May).

74 'Lundi dernier 20. de ce mois S.A. Serme. mit la premiere pierre fondamentale à l'Eglise des PP. Capucins de cette ville', Brussels (22 March), *RV* 1651, unnumbered (22 March).

75 E.g. 'Samedi dernier S.A. Serme. retourna de Trevûres, où il avoit été prendre le divertissement de la chasse dez le jour precedent, Dimanche Il fut entendre la Messe à nostre Dame de Lacken, où il y avoit solemnité, Lundi à l'Eglise des PP. Minimes pour la Fête de S. François de Paule, Et mardi jour de l'Annonciation à celle des Annonciades, Et l'aprèsdiné Il fut à la Chartreuse de cette ville pour la premiere fois, & y entendit les Vêpres [...] Mecredi Sadite A. fut encor à la chasse, & jeudi Il entendit la Messe dans la Chapelle du S. Sacrement de Miracle en la grande Eglise de S. Gudile, où étoient exposées les

activity considered newsworthy was hunting, presumably because hunting in the reserved forests of Brabant was a princely prerogative.<sup>76</sup> The few reports from Madrid that mentioned the king were also concerned with his venery, but surprisingly not at all with his piety.<sup>77</sup>

On 11 May 1656 Don Juan de Austria entered Brussels, replacing Leopold-William as governor-general and as the focus of court reporting. Domestic news in the *Relations véritables* decreased in frequency and interest, but this may have been due to other causes: military news, for instance, was bound to be played down when the war started going badly again after the last great successes in the summer of 1656. It is less easy to explain the reduction in reporting of court devotions, although it is possible that Don Juan's public image was more martial and less devout than that of Leopold-William who was, after all, one of the great ecclesiastical princes of the Empire. Rather than his piety, Hugonet always stressed Don Juan's courtesy and generosity, and a certain air of frivolity seems to hang about the court of the later 1650s.<sup>78</sup> What court devotions there were also seem to have been less attended by the governor in person, and more by the prince of Condé.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps, as Mazarin suspected, it was really Condé who was calling the shots in Brussels.<sup>80</sup> Increasingly, though, the news from Brussels was neither of the war nor of the court, but simply relayed news from diplomatic despatches, often from Vienna or Denmark. In this one suspects the hand of the Secretary for German Letters, Herman Völler, or Don Juan's own foreign-languages secretary, the franc-comtois Franciscus Faber Bremundan. Bremundan returned to Spain with Don Juan in 1659, and from 1661 himself edited a newspaper of reputation in Madrid, the *Gazeta Nueva* (1661–1663), which was mainly concerned with Don Juan's achievements commanding the Spanish forces against Portugal. Having failed to make much direct use of the *Relations véritables*, Don Juan's advisers would

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prieres des 40. heures pour la prosperité de cette campagne, laquelle on espere commencera bientôt', Brussels (13 April), *RV* 1652 no. 15.

76 Vernulaeus, *Institutionum Politicarum*, lib. 1, tit. 11, cap. 2.

77 E.g. 'Leurs Mtez. sont presentement au Pardo, où tous les ans en cette saison ils ont coûtume de s'aller divertir 15. jours à la chasse', Madrid (15 Jan.), *RV* 1652 no. 8 (24 Feb.).

78 E.g. 'cette courtoisie & bonté aussi naturelles [...] la valeur & la generosité les plus Heroïques', Brussels (2 Feb.), *RV* 1658 no. 5 (2 Feb.), with news of the Prince's first sledge ride and a ball.

79 E.g. the celebration of the feast of St Anthony in the Augustinian church in Brussels in January 1659, with Mass said by the Papal Nuncio, was attended by Condé, Enghien and Caracena, see Brussels (22 Jan.), *RV* 1659, unnumbered (22 Jan.).

80 Israel, 'Spain and Europe from the Peace of Münster to the Peace of the Pyrenees', in *Conflicts of Empires*, p. 143.

nevertheless seem to have become convinced of the efficacy of newspapers as organs of propaganda.

### *The Relations véritables and the News of Europe, 1649–1659*

A thorough comparison of European newspapers for a single year in the 1650s or '60s would be a great work in itself. For this reason, the comparisons carried out for 1623 and 1644 will not be repeated for any of the years during which Hugonet edited the *Relations véritables*. Instead, particular stories or reports from a small number of newspapers have been consulted, to test whether the conclusions drawn from a study of the *Relations véritables* are easily contradicted by sampling newspapers from other parts of Europe.<sup>81</sup> Of the *Relations véritables* itself, 838 issues have been consulted, 82 per cent of the probable original total of 1022.

In some regards, the rationalization of the information networks noted in 1644 continued into the 1650s: rather than the wealth of occasional reports found in 1623, the same major centres come back again and again: London, Amsterdam, Cologne, Hamburg, Vienna, Venice, Rome, Paris, Brussels. This rationalization was particularly marked in the case of Stockholm's *Nya Adviser*, the successor to the *Post-Tijdeners ifrån åthstillige Orter* (the title under which the *Ordinari Post Tijdeners* had appeared in the early 1650s). There had been a period of expansion in the later 1640s, when Stockholm became a full part of the international system and the *Ordinari Post Tijdeners* was printing news received directly from a number of cities in Germany, France and the Low Countries. After 1650, however, Stockholm fairly rapidly dropped back out of direct participation. By the mid-1650s, the *Nya Adviser* relied on only four regular sources for its news from beyond the Baltic: Gothenburg for news of England; Amsterdam for news of Spain, France and the Low Countries; Hamburg for news of Germany and Italy; Vienna for news of the imperial court and the Austrian Habsburg lands. At the same time, the editor expanded his correspondence in Prussia and Poland.

This expansion was not untypical, for in some ways the overall communication structure continued to grow, with the beginnings of the reintegration of Spain, and the more frequent use of reports from Poland in the European press—occasionally from Cracow, Toruń and Warsaw, regularly from Danzig. The rise of Brandenburg Prussia as a concern for journalists also dates from the mid-1650s, when Königsberg became an established newswriting centre.

81 See bibliography, pp. 214–215.

Danzig and Königsberg were both to be of particular interest as two of the main sources of reporting on the Northern War of 1655–1660.<sup>82</sup> The increased importance of Turin as a source for court reporting also testifies to the higher international profile of the dukes of Savoy, and is perhaps not unconnected with the appearance of the *Gazzetta di Torino* from 1645, published by the ducal printer and pensioned to the tune of 1000 silver lire per annum.<sup>83</sup>

Dublin, too, appears to have become a minor newswriting centre in the 1650s, but this is only reflected in the Dutch and English press. Although the Dover entrepôt had effectively ceased to function by the end of 1647,<sup>84</sup> the town remained an important source of reports on British affairs and international shipping all through the 1650s, especially during the Anglo-Dutch war. This was no doubt in part because it was, in parliamentary phrase, ‘a Towne exceedingly malignant’,<sup>85</sup> which, with Newcastle, became a provincial centre for royalist newswriting that occasionally found its way into Continental newspapers. Even after the beheading of King Charles, the battle for Continental opinion continued. Nicholas Bourne, who had published the *Mercure anglois* in the mid-1640s, now published the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, which with the *Mercurius Politicus* and the *Publick Intelligencer* was to be one of the three official newspapers of the Protectorate.<sup>86</sup> The royalist émigré Samuel Browne published a *Mercure Anglois* in The Hague from 1648/49, which the States of Holland appear to have suppressed at the end of the Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>87</sup> Royalist publicists in exile brought out books and pamphlets explaining the justice of their cause, such as V.M.’s *Abbregé des Derniers Mouvemens d’Angleterre* (Antwerp, 1651), which provided a royalist narrative from Laud’s church reforms—‘which tended only to the union of the Three neighbouring Nations under the same Divine Worship and Ecclesiastical Form of Government’—to Charles II’s coronation as King of Scots.<sup>88</sup>

The one noticeable difference in the typology of news in the 1650s is the greater journalistic interest in stories of criminals, particularly in the British

82 Danzig city council lifted a ban on domestic reporting from within the kingdom of Poland in 1656. See Malgorzata Chojnacka, ‘Die Danziger Presse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert’, in *Zeitung, Zeitschrift, Intelligenzblatt und Kalender*, ed. Astrid Blome (Bremen, 2000), p. 89.

83 Bellocchi, vol. 3, pp. 46–51.

84 J.S. Kepler, *The Exchange of Christendom* (Leicester, 1976), p. 98.

85 CSP Dom. 1648–9, 117.

86 Raymond, *Invention*, p. 24.

87 E.F. Kossmann, *De Boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw* (The Hague, 1937), p. 9.

88 ‘qui tendoit seulement à l’union de Trois Nations voisines sous un mesme Culte Divin & Forme de Gouvernement Ecclesiastique’, *Abbregé*, p. 36.

Isles and the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>89</sup> Concern with highway robbery was apparent in 1623 and 1644, presumably reflecting the interest of merchants in the safety of the roads and the reliability of the posts. The greater coverage of the 1650s might simply reflect a deepening sense of crisis, but perhaps also shows an awareness, never stated explicitly, that highwaymen, moss-soldiers, Tories and *banditi* actually went so far as to deny the authority of the magistrates who judged over them—the civil wars of the 1640s serving either as an inspiration or a pretext.

In Amsterdam and Hamburg by 1650, the proliferation of competing newspapers meant that more days of the week saw the publication of a new issue than did not. Although individual houses still operated twice-weekly schedules, the wealthier citizens of Amsterdam and Hamburg could buy a locally printed newspaper almost every day if they chose. The first true daily, a newspaper printed each weekday from the same shop, appeared in neither of these news centres, but in Leipzig. In 1650 the Swedish army withdrew from what had been its communications centre in the Empire. The *Wöchentliche Zeitung* had long been printed three or four times a week.<sup>90</sup> In late June or early July it became the daily *Einkommende Zeitungen*, under license from the Elector of Saxony.<sup>91</sup> At the time of the Swedish Posthouse, the *Wochentliche Zeitung* had regularly carried reports from all the great news centres of Europe and many of the lesser. In the first half of 1650, for example, there were regular reports from Amsterdam, Antwerp, Basel, Brussels, Cologne, Danzig, Frankfurt, Hamburg, London, Lübeck, Lyon, Metz, Milan, Nuremberg, Paris, Prague, Rome, Schweiz, Stettin, Stockholm, Venice and Vienna.<sup>92</sup> The correspondence base of the *Einkommende Zeitungen* was initially comparable (in the first few months it stopped carrying stories from Lübeck and Milan on a regular basis, but added Riga and Stettin). In the course of 1651, however, the breadth of the paper's coverage was considerably reduced, as the elector's postmaster replaced the Swedish army's, and the readership base of the newspaper shrank with the departure of Swedish officers and functionaries from Leipzig and neighbouring towns.

The oldest known edition of the *Gazzetta di Modana* appeared on 6 July 1658, and of the *Gazzetta di Rimini* on 10 August 1660.<sup>93</sup> From 1656 Abraham

89 E.g. 'quelques Torys, qui s'étoient échappés des prisons de Caterlough & Waterford, avoient fait beaucoup de desordres sur les grands chemins d'alentour', Dover (1 May), RV 1655, unnumbered (12 May).

90 Or so one surmises from the fact that over a hundred issues were printed in the first six months of both 1645 and 1649.

91 Lindemann, *Die Deutsche Presse*, p. 95.

92 See chapter 4 for 1644.

93 Bellocchi, vol. 3, pp. 56, 59.

Casteleyn was printing a *Weeckelycke Courante* in Haarlem, and in The Hague Browne's *Mercure anglois* (1649–1653) was supplanted by Adrian Vlacq's *Wekelycke Nieuws*.<sup>94</sup> Another editor in The Hague was Gerard Lodewijk van der Macht, a native of Ghent, whose editorial unreliability in 1658 led to the prohibition of his *Wekelyksche Mercurius*. Thereupon he moved to Utrecht, where from 1659 he published the *Ordinaire Europische Courant* under the alias Anthony Benedicti until that too was suppressed in 1669.<sup>95</sup> In a sense, the printing of newspapers in Cracow, Madrid and Seville in 1661, and in Dublin in 1663, was a sort of completion or culmination: the whole of the area that in 1600 had been part of Europe's regular postal networks and the 'newswriting' system of *avvisi* and scribal *gazzette*, had now succumbed to printed news.<sup>96</sup> Venice was the last major newswriting centre to hold out against print: the 'closed shop' of scribal offices, producing handwritten newspapers for distribution to high-paying and highly placed clients across Europe (and kept on a tight rein by the Venetian Republic's counter-intelligence service, 'the Inquisitors of State'), retained undisputed mastery almost to the end of the seventeenth century.

Where newspaper editors of the 1620s might have had half a dozen major sources and numerous minor ones, those of the 1650s were more likely to have three or four times as many major sources, and print far fewer occasional reports. This development was at the expense of the wealth of unmediated local detail available to earlier editors, but at the same time the number of professional newswriters in the established centres seems to have been higher than ever. Where in 1623, and even in 1644, most cisalpine newspaper editors relied on much the same correspondence from Italy, lightly tailored to suit their specific needs, by 1655 the newspapers of Brussels, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Vienna, at least, all had different correspondents in Rome and Naples. Not only did no German city become a 'gateway to Italy' in the way that Cologne mediated news from England and the Low Countries, the Italian correspondence used varied from paper to paper.

The first issue of the *Merkuriusz Polski* in 1661 was a general overview of the current state of Europe, produced by an observer in Cracow but taking in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, England, Portugal, the Dutch Republic, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, Persia, and the Baltic states. The second issue

94 Schneider & Hemels, *Nederlandse krant*, pp. 49–51.

95 Schneider & Hemels, *Nederlandse krant*, pp. 51–52.

96 On the Seville edition of the *Gazeta Nueva*, see Carmen Espejo, 'El impresor sevillano Juan Gómez de Blas y los orígenes de la prensa periódica: La *Gazeta Nueva* de Sevilla (1661–1667)', *ZER: revista de estudios de comunicación*, 13:25 (2008), pp. 243–267.



showed a mature and systematic newswriting network at work. There was a letter from Madrid, 8 weeks old, with news from Cadiz of the Indies Fleet, and another from Lisbon, four days younger, with news from Brazil. The letter from Brussels reported the consternation in Antwerp at the news from San Sebastian regarding the silver fleet (the sort of chain of news transmission so often found in Verhoeven's stories of the 1620s), while the news from Milan recounted that a special courier en route from Spain to Venice with a letter of exchange to support the Venetians in their war with the Turks had reported that there had been rioting in Barcelona in protest at the billeting of cavalry soldiers there by the marquis of Mortara.<sup>97</sup> There were also letters from England, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Paris, The Hague, Hamburg, Rome, Venice (with news from Constantinople) and Košice (in Upper Hungary). The timing and weighting of the connections might vary from place to place, but this was the news of Europe, and of European activity from the Black Sea to the far side of the Atlantic. In broad outline it was the same news that was already known, or would soon become known, in any of the cities from which the letters had been received. All, be it noted, the great capitals and metropolises of Europe, with little in the way of unmediated local connections.

The simplification of the newswriting map may in part have been due to the better integration of the postal networks themselves, creating a more unified hub-and-spoke system in which editors could satisfy themselves with correspondence from the 'hub'. Thus the *Nya Aviser*, for all that its regular sources for foreign news were limited to Gothenburg, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Vienna, still printed the news of all Europe, and Hamburg continued to mediate news from Scandinavia to the rest of Europe in a way it had not done in 1623. The development of newspaper printing across Europe may have facilitated this process, newspaper editors, as well as postmasters, creating collection systems for local and regional news that could then be exchanged on a reciprocal basis.

### The Litany of Antwerp

One of the greatest changes in the postal and newswriting networks was the rise of Rotterdam and Amsterdam as the main postal interchanges of cisalpine Europe (to some extent in competition with one another, as Antwerp and Brussels had previously been).<sup>98</sup> Where Antwerp had previously been the

97 The first 41 issues of the *Merkuriusz Polski* are available online. I am grateful to Sebastian Arblaster and Dominik Krakowiak for their help with the Polish.

98 See e.g. E.A.B.J. ten Brink, 'Een langdurige controverse tussen Amsterdam en Rotterdam over de postverbinding met Hamburg', *Economisch-historisch jaarboek* 32 (1967–1968),

hinge, it was now increasingly not even a waystation. The co-operation of the Tassis family in Brussels and of the postmaster of Rotterdam to cut Antwerp's civic posts out of the carrying market precipitated Antwerp's most serious political crisis of the seventeenth century.

The crisis came to a head in 1659, and resulted in the occupation of the city by royal forces and the imposition of a more absolutist civic constitution. This was an action which Hugonet implicitly likened to the destruction of Sodom. Verhoeven had printed a woodcut on almost every issue of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, Verdussen and Breyghel not infrequently used decorated initials at the beginning of issues, and Catholic newspapers in other countries sometimes had some sort of decorative masthead—a globe in Paris, a Mercury in Munich, an eagle in Vienna. Hugonet's *Relations véritables*, however, seldom used any illustrations or decorative type at all. Very occasionally, a special edition bore a decorated initial. One such was a large 'L' decorated with a picture of Lot and his daughters in the foreground and Sodom in the background. A religious image presumably used originally as a capital for Genesis 19, its re-use by Hugonet was carefully calculated.

The text of the special edition described the governor-general's use of force in Antwerp as the intervention of an able physician in a sick body politic, letting just the right amount of blood at the crisis of the disease.<sup>99</sup> Discontent and disorders had indeed been a recurrent problem in Antwerp for at least four years.<sup>100</sup> Since January 1655, the constables of the wards and the deans of the guilds had been disputing the revision of the civic constitution and the

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pp. 235–268; and complaints from the city of Rotterdam to the States of Holland about the city of Amsterdam's postal contract with the English postmaster general, e.g. on 28 February 1687, 22 January 1698, 10 February 1698: *Generaale index op de registers der resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* [1687–1700] (n.p.d.).

99 'Les Etats, les villes, & les Commuantez, de même que les autres corps sublunaires, sont sujèts à des alterations, devoiements, & maladies, qui pourroient enfin les précipiter à leur ruine, [...] s'il n'y étoit pourvû à tems par d'habiles & prudents Ministres, ainsi que des medecins experts...', *RV*, extra edition (8 Nov.). This seems to be a direct or indirect allusion to Cicero's *De Officiis*, lib. I, cap. xxiv: 'As to destroying and plundering cities, let me say that great care should be taken that nothing be done in reckless cruelty or wantonness. And it is a great man's duty in troublous times to single out the guilty for punishment, to spare the many, and in every turn of fortune to hold to a true and honourable course. [...] Accordingly, in encountering danger we should do as doctors do in their practice: in light cases of illness they give mild treatment; in cases of dangerous sickness they are compelled to apply hazardous and even desperate remedies'. (M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Loeb Classical Library, 1961), p. 83).

100 Van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, pp. 142–149, 299–300.

reinstitution, in 1654, of the import and export duties abolished in 1648.<sup>101</sup> These disputes were the occasion for demonstrations, agitation and the intimidation of customs officials.<sup>102</sup> There was further friction over increases in the taxes on beer in 1655 and 1657, and over the tax exemptions claimed by royal officials.<sup>103</sup>

The old rivalry between the Tassis posts and the civic carriers had also gained a new dimension: since 1650 the Tassis service had been running posts to Holland, previously the preserve of the *stadsboden*. This was perceived as an attempt by a royal monopolist to overthrow the city's established liberties. An anonymous petitioner of 1656 had warned the government that foreign agitators were stirring up trouble,<sup>104</sup> and in the same year the magistrates warned that they would be best left to deal with the problems themselves, as 'une alteration, revolution et combustion generale' would follow any interference from the Council of Brabant. In December 1658 the Council of Brabant, giving their verdict in the suit between the Tassis posts and the civic carriers, found that both services were entitled to carry to Holland, but only the Tassis service could do so by 'post'. This clashed with the guilds' somewhat idiosyncratic interpretation of their civic liberties, and when the deans of the guilds forcibly took the postbag for Holland from the Tassis postman 'un bruit et impression seditieuse' spread throughout the city.<sup>105</sup> Caracena then marched between 7 and 8 thousand troops to Antwerp and occupied the city, while the Council of Brabant (in a special session in Antwerp presided over by Hovyne) ordered the ringleaders hanged.

Hugonet did not publicise the on-going dissidence of the later 1650s, nor the course of the disturbances of 1658–59; he was content simply to print the official account of the final quashing of subversion, although apparently assuming that his readers would know what had gone before. The same was true of

101 *Reglement Provisioneel ende Additioneel aen de Ordonnantie Albertine Der Stadt van Antwerpen* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon-Velpius, 1654); P. Voeten, 'Antwerpens verzet tegen de licenten tussen 1648 en 1670', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 50 (1957), pp. 72–80.

102 Birgit Houben, 'Violence and Political Culture in Brabant', in *Hoge rechtspraak in de oude Nederlanden*, edited by Hugo de Schepper and René Vermeir (Maastricht, 2006), pp. 23–49.

103 *Vertoogh aen De Heeren van t'Magistraet, ende andere Leden der Stadt Antwerpen, Door Die Provosten ende Gheswoorene van Sijne Mats Munten in Brabant, Tot Bewys, Dat de selve, inghevolghe van hunne Privilegien, Concordaten ende vonnissen, niet en zijn tauxabel oft quotisabel, nopende de wijnen ende bieren gesleten wordende, soo binnen hunne huysen, als wel den Kelder vande Munte alhier* (n.p.d. [1657]).

104 Van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, p. 299.

105 Van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, pp. 144–145.

Renaudot: there was a time when such dissension would have been well-publicised in the Paris Gazette, but from the final stages of the peace negotiations onwards the gazetteers of Paris and Brussels co-operated to ensure that the new amity of their rulers was translated into the views expressed and the news published.<sup>106</sup> It is perhaps surprising that Hugonet published this news at all; no similar account was printed in 1661, when the army was called in after grain riots in Brussels on the feast of All Souls.<sup>107</sup> As far as Hugonet was concerned, the only newsworthy event of the holidays was the first meeting, in St Gudula's, of a new 'devote Confrérie de Tous les Saints'.<sup>108</sup> But this latter crisis was closer to home, shorter lived and less contested in the sphere of publicity than that of Antwerp.

In the aftermath of the postal war in Antwerp the court printer put out the official version of the settlement of affairs, *Acten van Accommodement van de ongheregeltheden Veroorsaeckt binnen der Stadt Antwerpen, door resistentien van de dekens ende ambachten Teghens d'Executie van den Vonnisse by den Rade van Brabandt ghewesen op het stuck van de Posterye*. But the official texts printed by Hubert Anthoon Velpius and the approving report published by Hugonet were not the only accounts circulated. The government's resort to force in 1659, like that in Brussels in 1619, occasioned various 'pasquilles et litanies Infames et Injurieuses' which caused the Privy Council and the Council of Brabant grave concern.<sup>109</sup> The worst of these, a pasquil entitled the *Litanie van Antwerpen*, listed the many lords and officials—native, foreign and ecclesiastic—to whom the Antwerpeners bent the knee, abandoning the ancient privileges of their city. There was some truth in this: the magistrates and guilds had to gain the intercession of the dukes of York and Gloucester, the prince of Condé, the bishop and chapter of Antwerp and the abbots of St Bernard's and St Michael's before Caracena would agree not to impose his understanding of order on the city by martial law.<sup>110</sup> No fewer than three copies of the *Litanie*

106 Renaudot's slight coverage, in mid-November, ran: 'Le 2 de ce mois, le Marquis de Caracene, Gouverneur Général de ces Provinces, retourna ici d'Anvers, apres y avoir paci-fié toutes choses, &, par la punition de quatre des principaux Séditieux, rangé les autres à leur devoir, ainsi que vous verrez dans le Récit qui vous en sera envoyé'. Brussels (8 Nov.), NO 1659 no. 139 (15 Nov.). If the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé à Anvers* was sent to Renaudot, he did not reprint it. Coverage was more extensive in Utrecht's *Ordinaire Europische Courant*, 1659 nos 104, 107.

107 Van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, p. 410.

108 RV 1661 no. 46 (12 Nov.).

109 ARB, GRSP, 1279/170.

110 *Acten van Accommodement*, p. 22.

were brought to the attention of the Officer Fiscal of Brabant.<sup>111</sup> Public opinion was a major concern when there was fear of 'emotions populaires'.

Brussels retained its position as an international postal interchange and as a newswriting centre of minor importance across Europe. Meanwhile, Antwerp's dominant position in the European postal system was not surrendered without a fight, and ultimately it was Spanish policy, rather than foreign competition, which ended it.

### A Desultory Struggle for Control of the Press, 1660–1700

With the end of the wars with France and England in 1660, concern in Brussels about the regulation of the press did not diminish. In 1662, it reached a new peak. Now, however, concern focused not on public opinion but on a perceived trend towards atheism and immorality. On 20 November a royal order was issued commanding the booksellers of Brussels to form a guild for the better regulation of their activities, as, contrary to all prior prohibitions, they were printing or importing books, songs, images and writings containing heresy, atheism, sorcery and filth (*vuyligheden*), the last perhaps a reference to the late-seventeenth-century vogue for pornography.<sup>112</sup> In 1664 the establishment of the country's first papermill at La Hulpe promised to give a boost to book production by vastly reducing the costs of paper, but in 1665 there were instead further limitations on the press, with the institution of tolls on the importation and exportation of books, four guilders per 100 lb unbound, six guilders bound.<sup>113</sup> The next four years were a time of serious crisis in the book trade of the Habsburg Netherlands, and François Foppens in Brussels and Balthasar II Moretus in Antwerp co-ordinated attempts to petition that 'books should be free' (meaning free of duty), apparently with success as the duties were progressively lightened in 1669, 1670 and 1671.<sup>114</sup>

But concern about the political press as such seems to have waned. Having thrice issued a monopoly in Hugonet's name, the Privy Council in 1663 failed to reject outright an application from Jean Feux la Croix de Belanguet to publish a newspaper in Lille. Instead they solicited the advice of Lille's aldermen, who expressed distrust of the applicant as a non-native but left it up to the royal

111 ARB, OFRB liasse 632 dossier 5883: 190 no. 62.

112 *Placcaerten, &c.* vol. 4 (Brussels, 1724), p. 48.

113 Sabbe, 'In- en uitvoerrechten', pp. 339, 289.

114 'de boecken vrij sullen wesen'. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–293. Duty on books was further reduced in 1680, and abolished in 1697 (*loc. cit.*).

councillors to decide whether it would be desirable to have a man with knowledge of 'affairs of state' appointed to make the news public.<sup>115</sup> In the event, no licence was issued, leaving Hugonet's monopoly where it had stood since 1655, but the desire to enforce a centrally-controlled view of events was clearly less motivating than during the years of war.

The centre's lack of control over the regional press is revealed in a letter that the Dutch resident in Brussels wrote to the States General of the United Provinces: the printers and newspapermen of Brussels, he informed them, had 'again been sharply prohibited' from printing anything which would be unwelcome to their High Mightinesses (clearly once was not enough, even in Brussels); if only, he continued, the magistrates of Antwerp could be induced to do the same to Verdussen.<sup>116</sup> This was in 1666, the same year that Hugonet tried to have his monopoly enforced in Antwerp, not to suppress the newspapers of Willem Verdussen and Widow Binnart outright, but less ambitiously to repress their publication of the English declaration of war on France: the sort of special edition which brought in far more than the average issue of the paper, greater demand guaranteeing larger sales and perhaps allowing an increase in cover price.<sup>117</sup> Even here he failed, and the following year he sold the *Relations véritables* to the twenty-seven year-old Adrien Foppens MD, who had the licence renewed in his own name in 1669, after Hugonet's death.<sup>118</sup> One cannot help wondering whether Hugonet's despondency had anything to do with the fact that President Hovyne, who had always shown himself in favour of an official gazette on the French model, spent most of 1667 under arrest while being investigated for corruption.<sup>119</sup>

115 'affaires d'estat'. ARB, GRSP, 1279/158.

116 'Men heeft alhier wederom aen alle druckers ende courantiers seer scherp doen verbieden ten eynde de selve haer niet sullen hebben te vervorderen ijets te drucken ofte doen drucken t'geen Hare Ho. Mog. soude mogen choqueren. Het was te wenschen dat de Heeren Magistraten van Antwerpen gelycke interdictie geliefden te doen aen haren courantier genaemt Van der Dussen' [*sic*], Sasburch to the States General, Brussels, 20 Sept. 1666, quoted in Eugène Hubert, *Les Pays-Bas Espagnols et la République des Provinces-Unies depuis la paix de Munster jusqu'au traité d'Utrecht (1648-1713)* (Brussels, 1907), p. 372 n. 2.

117 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632 dossier 5883:190 no. 39. According to a manuscript note in Anthony a Wood's copy, now in the Bodleian library, the edition of *The Treaty of Peace between the Crowns of France & Spain* published in London by Thomas Newcomb in 1660 was priced 8d.

118 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5883:190, no. 26. The undated request in the Privy Council archive among the papers for 1674 (ARB, GRSP, 1279/189) would thus appear to have been misfiled, perhaps after a five-year renewal.

119 E. Van Arenbergh, 'Hovyne (Charles de)', *BN*, 9 (Brussels, 1886-87), coll. 566-567.

Hugonet's successor as gazetteer, Adrien Foppens, was the son of a Frisian Catholic who had moved to Brussels during the second phase of the Eighty Years' War and had married a local woman, Elizabeth Tissaert. Adrien was born in Brussels in 1640, one of eleven children.<sup>120</sup> The family, as one would expect of that of an émigré Catholic, was very devout. Two of his sisters became nuns in Lier, and two became 'spiritual daughters', living in the world under simple vows of chastity and obedience. One of his brothers was intendant of the Brussels *Mons Pietatis* (a sort of low-interest loan bank to provide affordable credit to the poor), three were ecclesiastics (including a vicar-general of the Frisian Mission) and two were booksellers in Brussels, in the sign of the Holy Ghost. Adrien himself went to Paris to study medicine in 1659, and during his studies he seems to have become acquainted with Théophraste Renaudot's sons, Isaac, later physician to Louis XIV, and Eusèbe, later physician to the dauphine (Marie-Anne-Christine of Bavaria), who together were also to continue their father's gazette in Paris.<sup>121</sup> After returning from Paris with his medical doctorate, Foppens worked in Holland as an agent for his bookseller brother, François (1637–1686). His return to the South coincided with Hugonet's final disappointment, and this travelled, educated and well-connected young man stepped into the position of *gazettier*.

The technical side of production was also undergoing changes. Willem Scheybels continued to be printer, as he had been since November 1649, but in 1666 Hacquebaud was replaced by Pierre de Cleyn as seller. From August 1667 to August 1685 Cleyn's was to be the only name on the colophon. Thereafter he was joined by Gilles Strykwant as printer, until his death in 1690, when the colophon listed Gilles Strykwant as printer and the Widow of Pierre de Cleyn as seller.<sup>122</sup> That it was Foppens who held the license and the post of gazetteer is apparent only from the archival records: his name never appeared anywhere on the printed sheets.

As the new licensee of the *Relations véritables*, Foppens soon attempted to have his legal monopoly enforced. The first step was a remonstrance to the Governor-General signed simply 'Zeleux' (a pseudonym indicating one zealous for justice, with no desire to claim a reward for reporting wrongdoing), in which he drew attention to the on-going illegal composition, publication and

120 This and following information from enquiries by the officer fiscal of Brabant in 1685, discussed in L. Galesloot, 'Mémoires secrets d'Adrien Foppens sur le gouvernement et les affaires des Pays-Bas, pendant les années 1680–1682', *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 4e ser., 4 (1877), pp. 374–375.

121 Galesloot, 'Mémoires secrets', p. 383.

122 Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600–1789*, (Paris, 1991), no. 1188.

distribution of newspapers 'containing matter of war and policy', especially in Ghent.<sup>123</sup> The next move was the Privy Council's, a letter being sent to the town councils of Ghent, Bruges and Antwerp ordering them to investigate the printing of newspapers in their jurisdictions, and particularly to inquire by what licence the printers operated.

The first town council to reply was that of Bruges, the mayor and aldermen of the city writing to the Privy Council on 24 March 1672 that the three newspaper publishers then active in the city were all licensed printers. Although not actually licensed to publish newspapers they had done so without contradiction for a long time and had given no reason to be stopped, thus establishing what amounted to a customary right.<sup>124</sup> This was despite the edict of 1657 referred to above. The city council's accounts show them to have been purchasing newspapers on a weekly basis since 1656.<sup>125</sup> Nicolaas Breyghel had been succeeded in Bruges by no fewer than three different publishers: Lucas vanden Kerckhove publishing the *Woensdaeghsche tijdinghen uyt verscheide ghewesten*, Alexander Michiels the *Nieuwe vrijdaghsche tijdingen wt verscheide ghewesten*, and Jean Clouwet junior the *Nieuwe Brughsche gasette* or *Nieuwe wekelicksche gasette*. In 1666 the aldermen summoned all three to the town hall and informed them that henceforth only one newspaper would be tolerated in the city, and the licence would be granted to the highest bidder.<sup>126</sup> The three promptly formed a cartel and, for £8 6 s 8d, were awarded a licence for their joint newspaper, to be printed on Tuesdays and Fridays and censored by the clerk of the municipal treasury (a provision which had to be repeated in 1672).<sup>127</sup> The aldermen had no legal authority to grant such a licence and wisely failed to mention it to the Privy Council, but kept their side of the bargain by preventing the paper's suppression.

Antwerp's reply to the Privy Council, dated 29 March 1672, indicated that Widow Binnart published a newspaper under a Council of Brabant licence issued in her husband's name in 1635 and renewed in her own name in 1658 and again in 1668 for a period of ten years, six of which had still to run; while Peter Verdussen's licence, also from the Council of Brabant, was dated 14 July

123 'qui contiennent les affaires de la guerre et police'.

124 The original remonstrance and the replies of the town councils are in ARB, GRSP, 1279/185. The Privy Council and Council of State documents relating to Foppens's attempts to enforce his monopoly were used by Luyckx, 'De eerste gazetters', pp. 238–240. See too Arblaster, 'Policy and the Press'.

125 Schouteet, 'Nieuwsbladen', p. 84.

126 Schouteet, 'Nieuwsbladen', pp. 85–86.

127 Schouteet, 'Nieuwsbladen', pp. 86, 88.



1661, and was a renewal, 'sans limitation de temps', of his father's 1654 licence. The magistrates also pointed out that in 1655 Hugonet had tried to obtain a similar monopoly, but that in 1656 Verdussen and Binnart had jointly appealed to the Council of Brabant and had obtained a continuation of their activities. It would seem that even within Brussels, the provincial council of justice was unwilling to bow to the orders of the Privy Council. It may have been in response to this high-level, albeit low-key, power struggle that the 1657 edict reserving the right to licence was passed.<sup>128</sup> Not until 1678 did the Privy Council manage to bring the Council of Brabant's licensing procedures under its own supervision.<sup>129</sup>

The aldermen of Ghent did not reply until 4 June 1672, when they informed the Privy Council that Maximilian Graet printed a weekly gazette under a Council of Flanders licence dated 16 November 1666 and that on 24 December 1666 alderman Peeters had been appointed the paper's 'visitor', to be replaced by alderman Claysson when absent. Since Graet had never broken the law and had gone to great expense, 'notably to pay his correspondents, dwelling in diverse Kingdoms & republics of Europe' ('merckelijck omme te gagieren sijne correspondenten, woonende In verscheide Coninckrijcken & republicquien van Europa'), it would be unfair to suppress him arbitrarily. Given that his paper only cost one stiver, as against the three charged by Foppens, who only published in French, which was not the common language of the county of Flanders, of which Ghent was the chief city, it was also suggested that suppression would be an injustice not just to Graet, but to the citizenry as a whole. It was, they stated, 'convenient' for the citizenry to be informed of 'that which passes in the aforesaid foreign quarters' ('het ghene datter passeert In de voor-noemde vremde quartieren'), i.e. the kingdoms and republics of Europe. Faced with such clear declarations of support from the corporations under whose jurisdiction the competing newspaper publishers operated, the Council of State used the arguments of the aldermen of Ghent to delay any decision. They decreed that Foppens would be upheld in his monopoly only after he also began publication of 'gazettes in Flemish, for the satisfaction of such as do not know the French language'.<sup>130</sup>

Accordingly, a short-lived Dutch edition of the *Relations véritables* was produced, under the title *Waerachtigh verhael*, copies of which survive from July 1673 to December 1674. The imprint incorporated the ban on newspapers from

128 André Puttemans, *La Censure dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (Brussels, 1935), p. 22.

129 ARB, GRSP, 1280/78 ff.

130 'des gazettes en flameng, pour la satisfaction de ceux qui ne scavent pas la langue françoise'. ARB, RS, 1846/unnnumbered.

Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges.<sup>131</sup> This calling of the civic magistracies' bluff seems not to have had the desired effect, but Foppens was not to be put off. In July 1674 he addressed a remonstrance, this time in his own name, directly to the king of Spain. As a result, the Privy Council was obliged to write to the magistrates of Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp, ordering them to take action to suppress the newspapers printed in their cities. The mayor and aldermen of Bruges wrote back that the order would be put into execution at the soonest convenient opportunity, the aldermen of Ghent that the order had not been delivered in accordance with legal form, but would be put into execution at the earliest convenient opportunity once the proper formalities had been observed, while the corporation of Antwerp failed to respond at all.<sup>132</sup> Foppens's second attempt to have his monopoly enforced had come up against as solid a wall of particularist intransigence as had his first, and as Hugonet's less well-documented earlier attempts seem to have done.

Foppens himself was no freer of legal entanglements than were his competitors, although his tenure of the post first granted him in 1667 was long unchallenged. His attempts to have his monopoly enforced failed, but he enjoyed the support of the central organs of state for almost twenty years. Where Hugonet had failed to obtain a subsidy, Foppens succeeded in getting the Count of Monterrey (governor-general 1670–75) to attach a stipend of 480 florins to the position of gazetteer. In 1667 the Privy Council defended him when the diplomatic agent of the United Provinces complained about one of his reports, and in 1674 the Council of State backed him against the internuncio, who complained that he had published a comment in a report from Rome critical of the Pope.<sup>133</sup> The Council insisted that, since the comment had 'slipped in by inadvertence rather than by any premeditated design', one, and only one, of three fairly lenient sanctions be taken: a private reprimand from the government, a private apology to the internuncio, or recompense in the form of allowing the internuncio to place a piece of his own in a future edition of the gazette. Should the internuncio be unsatisfied with such leniency, it was hinted rather heavily, any more formal apology or punishment would undoubtedly come to the attention of foreign newspaper editors, such as the 'Gazetteer of Holland', who had so far not picked up the offending story. In 1680 the Privy Council even intervened to save Foppens's bookseller brother, François, from the full rigour of the law. François published a small print-run edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ninety-three copies of which were immediately confiscated

131 In PRO, SP 121/16.

132 ARB, GRSP, 1279/187.

133 ARB, GRSP, 1279/180; ARB, RS, 1844/unnumbered.

by the Officer Fiscal of Brabant. The Privy Council, however, had his stock returned with orders that no action was to be taken provided that within six months eleven of the plates were corrected according to the guidelines of the bishop of Bruges, spiritual councillor of state ('Tegantur virilia', 'Tegantur uterus', 'Tegantur partes inhonestae et utera', etc.). No copies could be sold in the Habsburg Netherlands until the changes were made, but they could be exported.<sup>134</sup> The treatment was quite different from that of Verhoeven's almanacs in 1630 and 1631.

Adrien Foppens was clearly considered a useful man, and the action of organs of state both to promote and to defend his interests seem to show a certain degree of highly-placed patronage. His newspaper was everything one would expect of a government gazette on the Renaudot model. In 1685 the Officer Fiscal of Brabant was even to claim that it had shown itself so useful an instrument of communication that in the past some governors-general had 'taken the pains to censor it themselves given the importance of the matter', while others had delegated this task to 'certain of the principal ministers of state or of justice'.<sup>135</sup> But the context of the Officer Fiscal's remarks was Foppens's disgrace. In 1684 it was discovered that he was abusing his position of trust as gazetteer by using his access to the secretariats to spice up his separate line in manuscript intelligence (for which he received pensions from England, France, Rome and Brunswick-Lüneburg), giving a very different picture of affairs from the official line followed in print, and demonstrating a firm attachment to the liberties of the people and the rights of the citizens.<sup>136</sup>

The marquis of Grana placed Foppens and his assistant, Jan-Frans Conincx, under surveillance, and on 20 January 1685 both were arrested. Foppens's pension was revoked and he was tried *in camera* by a special *junta*, to be replaced as gazetteer with Claude Antoine Gillard, king of arms of the county of Burgundy.<sup>137</sup> He was fined heavily and spent eight months in the royal prison

134 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5883:190, no. 20/1; GRSP, 1280/113bis. After 1660 Foppens printed several works with false addresses in Germany or Holland for distribution in France, such as Claude Le Petit's *Chronique Scandaleuse* (1668), Pascal's *Litterae Provinciales* (1661), and the *Memoires* of Monsieur de Montrésor (1664, 1665) and Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld (1664, 1669). See *Catalogue of the Books Printed in the German-speaking Countries* (London, 1994), B1782, B1932, D886, F646, G22, G1298, G1299, L159, L160, L571, O122, P165, R209, V324.

135 'pris la peine de les censurer eux-mêmes pour l'importance de la matière'; 'quelques ministres principaux d'État ou de justice'. Quoted in Galesloot, 'Mémoires secrets', p. 377.

136 Galesloot, 'Mémoires secrets', *passim*.

137 Although outside the jurisdiction of Antwerp's *vierschaa*r criminal trials were generally conducted *in camera*, citizens of Brussels did have the seldom-exercised right to

at Vilvoorde, after release being banned from entering the city of Brussels for longer than one day each month. Deprived of his privileges but again at liberty, he began to take a more active interest in his papermilling business in La Hulpe, early in 1686 obtaining a licence to build two new mills besides the two already running.<sup>138</sup> But the urge to retaliate soon got the better and in 1686, with Grana dead and the marquis of Gastañaga now governor-general, he published a defamatory pamphlet, *Les conquestes du marquis de Grana*, which got him into more trouble.<sup>139</sup> Not until the winter of 1692–3, and through the mediation of Secretary of State Bardé, was Foppens restored to his position.<sup>140</sup> On 6 March 1693, the patent formally reinstating him was issued.<sup>141</sup> Before being found out, Foppens seems to have made quite a living from the combination of gazetteering and intelligencing. After his death, his heiress, in 1700, auctioned off her inheritance, including the papermills, tapestries and eighty-six paintings, to cover the debts of the estate.<sup>142</sup>

By the time of Foppens's reinstatement in 1693, his position with regard to his competitors had quite changed. In 1690 the Privy Council had advised the Council of Namur of a new policy of unofficial toleration. No attempt was to be made to censor gazettes, even the sale of Dutch newspapers being freely allowed, as weekly preventive censorship of the growing number of newspapers was simply too much effort to be worthwhile. Only pamphlets and 'petits livrets' were among the news publications still subject to the normal regulations governing bookselling.<sup>143</sup> There is no record of this decision being communicated directly to any member of the printing trade, but since it was unofficial it was presumably passed on with a nod and a wink rather than a proclamation read out to the blare of trumpets.

Henceforth, the sale of individual issues of newspapers might be prohibited reactively (the July 1691 issue of the *Mercure historique et politique*, published in The Hague, was banned for libelling the pope), but otherwise newspapers were free of censorship. The only exception was the official gazette: in 1698, after another unsuccessful attempt to have his monopoly enforced, Foppens

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challenge for public trial by jury (J. de Conde (ed.), *Costuymen ende Rechten der Stadt Brussel* (Brussels, 1657), p. 17). To have a criminal trial conducted by a special *junta* was in any case utterly unconstitutional, as Foppens stressed in his 1692 petition to the new governor general, Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria (ARB, RS, 1844/unnumbered).

138 Galesloot, 'Mémoires secrets', p. 384.

139 ARB, OFRB, liasse 632, dossier 5883:190, no. 50.

140 ARB, RS, 1844/unnumbered.

141 ARB, RS, 1844/unnumbered.

142 Galesloot, loc. cit.

143 ARB, GRSP, 1280/130.

was ordered to submit the drafts of each issue to Privy Councillor Voorspoel.<sup>144</sup> The policy of punitively banning specific newspapers by name, seldom for more than a month or two, was continued through the eighteenth century.<sup>145</sup> In the Habsburg Netherlands, as in Holland and, to an even greater extent, England, there was a surprising degree of press freedom by the end of the seventeenth century. The mechanisms of control, already strained, simply could not cope with the flood of information which newspapers brought, at least not without endangering the very basis of a commercial society. In any case, new mechanisms were being developed: the carrot of pensions and privileged access, and the stick of reprisals, created incentives for a self-censorship that was far more cost-effective than the system of prior licensing and formal approval developed in the sixteenth century.

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144 ARB, GRSP, 1280/61, 139bis; 1280/142.

145 Puttemans, *La Censure*, p. 270 ff.

## Conclusion

News in early-modern Europe was conveyed aurally—by tolling or peeling bells, by the ‘beating up’ of drums and the calls of horns and trumpets—as well as orally, scribally and in print. While glancing at all of these, this book’s focus has been firmly on printed news. This is not a history of news, but a history of news in print. This should not be taken to imply that printed news is in any sense more important than news declaimed from the steps of a town hall, or from the pulpit, or passed on by word of mouth in taverns, barges, barbershops, or on the exchange, let alone the news written in private letters, diplomatic despatches, or in the scribal publications of professional newswriters. Quite the contrary, as Ben Jonson’s *Cymbal* put it (giving one side of the case): ‘when News is printed, it leaves, Sir, to be News.’<sup>1</sup> In Thomas Fitzherbert’s phrase, a piece of news could become ‘so publike that it came into the gazetta of Rome’;<sup>2</sup> newsletters and newspapers simply gave wider circulation to what was already in some sense public knowledge.

When the history of the news flows of early-modern Europe is one day written, it will have to take into account all these modes of transmission. The present work is far more modest in ambition: to trace the development of printed news over the century that saw the emergence of the newspaper as a familiar part of everyday life, and that in one tiny patch of Europe that has always been one of the crossroads of the continent. One reason for this interest is purely present-centred: the crisis in the newspaper industry brought about by digital publication, quite as momentous as the coming of print, has made it possible to write a history of the printed newspaper that avoids the teleological assumptions of past attempts, when newspapers were taken for granted as having reached their proper form and eminence, and a historian might simply trace how this came about. If newspapers are now ceding a long-held paramountcy as the archetypal vehicle of news, in the seventeenth century they were upstart and inferior versions of the news that circulated in handwritten letters.

The wider publicity that print afforded made newspapers a ready target for government attempts to manage ‘reputation’; and political decisions set the legal and administrative constraints on publicity and printing within which newspapers were inclined to operate, as well as the day-to-day likelihood of

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1 Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News* (first performed 1625; first printed 1631), Act I, scene 2. On the position of this play in the broader history of early commentary on the newspaper press, see Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 259–261.

2 Fitzherbert, *The First Part of a Treatise*, chap. 29, para. 27.

arbitrary intervention. The concern about reputation also led to direct involvement in the news industry, mediated to the level of local production through systems of patronage brokership. A number of political and military developments incidentally influenced the basic resources of news publishers, through their impact on such things as the price of paper or the availability of postal links.

The publishers themselves, however, worked in an environment of small workshop production, and face-to-face interaction with local circles of newswriters and the 'curious'. These little local news communities, dotted across Europe but linked by postal and carrier services, exchanged information with one another in a ramified network that extended from the Mediterranean to the North Sea and the Baltic. This wider network was receptive to the influence of political patrons at every individual point, especially as newswriters themselves were politically marginal figures who knew only what was already public or what their contacts within the ruling elite wanted them to know. Nevertheless, these limitations were to some extent offset by the international spread of the communications community, the anonymity of newswriters, and common-sense conjecture about what decision-makers might intend, based on their known actions. The third concern, that of cultural significance, is the most problematic. At every stage, some attempt has been made to gauge how the urban culture of publicity, news-sharing and opinion interacted with news publication. In particular, a description has been provided of what types of news were available in print, and what models were presented for integrating this information into a coherent view of European affairs. Due to constraints of time, resources and available sources, this has often been more a view of how editors and opinion-brokers perceived the readership than of how readers themselves thought about the press.

### Printing

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most printing took place in small family businesses. The pamphlets produced in Antwerp and Brussels in the years 1585–1619 were printed and sold by individual booksellers. Some opinion pamphlets may have been paid for by the authors and dedicated to powerful patrons, but news pamphlets were nearly always anonymous and may well have been printed for profit from sales. Occasionally the source would be a foreign pamphlet, presumably obtained through connections within the book trade; at least as often it would be a copy of a letter or of an official document or deposition, probably provided to a favoured printer by the authorities

in order to facilitate the publication of good news. The possibility cannot be ruled out that some of these pamphlets were, like opinion pieces, paid for up-front by an interested party rather than printed speculatively for the open market. Despite the propaganda bias of these pamphlets, and even though some read like personal letters, there is little sense of an 'author' writing an account specifically for publication. The only identifiable individuals are the publishers, and market dominance seems to have belonged to particular houses: the Velpius and Mommaert dynasties in Brussels; Rische and Ballo (successive husbands to Ysabeele Mathys) in Antwerp, followed by Verhoeven's decades of eminence; Beys and Rache in Lille.

Prints were more complex, as the designer, engraver, printer, publisher and retailer could all be different people. The inspiration and investment in the venture could come from any one of them, although usual practice was for the seller to commission the plate and its printing. Unlike the publication of pamphlets, print-making was a business of fluid partnerships between a number of highly specialised craftsmen. This also meant that occasional pamphlet publishing by general booksellers in provincial towns was never matched by occasional print publishing, a trade which always remained concentrated in Antwerp, a city renowned for 'all sortes of pictures printed in white & black'.<sup>3</sup> In the current-affairs niche of the Antwerp print market, certain names dominated at various times: Adrian Huberti, Jan-Baptist Vrints, Abraham Verhoeven, Pierre Verbiest.

Like prints, newspapers were created by a team. Abraham Verhoeven was printer-proprietor and perhaps editor-in-chief of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, with at least one other editor working with him, probably Caspar Gevartius in 1620–1622 (when Miraeus was sending him news); almost certainly Richard Verstegan in 1623–1629. Pierre Hugonet was editor-proprietor of the *Relations véritables*, contracting out the printing to a succession of shops before settling with Willem Scheybels; his relationship with the bookdealer Guillaume Hacquebaud, from whose shop sales were organised, is not clear. Martin Binnart in Antwerp was apparently publisher-proprietor and editor, but not the actual printer, while Maximiliaan Graet in Ghent was printer-proprietor, but employed a newswriter as full-time editor-translator, a man whose involvement gave continuity as the business passed first to Widow Graet and then to her daughters. The exact arrangements of Nicolaas Breyghel in Bruges and the Verdussen family in Antwerp are not clear. There does not appear to have been a 'typical'

3 M.G. Brennan (ed.), *The Travel Diary (1611–1612) of an English Catholic, Sir Charles Somerset, edited from the manuscript in the Botherton Collection, University of Leeds* (Leeds, 1993), p. 285. I am very grateful to Cordula Van Wyhe for this reference.



hierarchy of the three factors of ownership (legal title to the newspaper, to the press on which it was printed, and to the shop from which it was sold) or of the three main jobs (editor, printer and seller).

The situation was just as complex elsewhere: in England the market was dominated by publisher-booksellers who neither printed nor edited the newspapers themselves; in France, Renaudot was neither a printer nor a bookseller, unlike the provincial 'farmers' of his gazette in Rouen, Lyon and Bordeaux; in Germany, editors were sometimes professional newswriters, sometimes post-masters and sometimes printer-booksellers; in Amsterdam, Jan Van Hilten was a publisher-bookseller, contracting out the editing to the Casteleyns and the printing to the Veselers, while Broer Janszoon, with professional experience of both printing and newswriting, appears to have managed the entire production process himself.

Apart from skills and capital, news publishing needed the raw materials of reports (regular correspondence in the case of newspapers) and paper, which before 1664 had to be imported into the Habsburg Netherlands. The most obvious sources, Holland and France, were both hostile countries in 1635–1648. The cost and availability of paper, like that of news reports, was a major drain on publishers' resources, and would seem to have contributed greatly to Verhoeven's decision to abandon the unique illustrated newsbook format of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* in favour of the simpler formats of the *Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* and the *Courante*. It can only have strengthened Adrien Foppens's position as gazetteer that he was part owner of the La Hulpe papermills. But all these concerns were typical of the book trade as a whole. What made newspapers different was their content, and the manner in which it was provided. The correspondence of newswriters was the most costly investment required of a newspaper publisher, and the one thing that made the difference between a newspaper and any other sort of publication. One solution was to go into partnership with a newswriter who already had a well-developed network of contacts, which may well explain the prominence of individual newswriters in some news publishing ventures: Thomas Gainsford in London, Richard Verstegan in Antwerp, Andrés de Mendoza and Franciscus Faber Bremundan in Spain, Louis Epstein in Paris.

Before the appearance of newspapers, news pamphlets made no use of the newswriting system which had been developing since the fifteenth century. The foreign news published before 1617 came through book-trade and political connections rather than independent news networks. In contrast, Abraham Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* made increasingly full use of the newswriting system, beginning with regular correspondence from Vienna and Prague, and adding other cities when desirable. Besides these regular reports, the

newswriting system carried a flotsam of occasional reports from other centres, some close-by but not regularly used, others distant. A comparison with other newspapers shows that Verhoeven was exceptionally well provided with news: better than any German or English publishers; not quite as well as those of Amsterdam. The geographic range of his occasional reports, the number of language areas from which reports were regularly received, the level of local detail of foreign reporting, all mark the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* as a well-supplied newspaper, hardly surprising given the dominance of Antwerp in northern Europe's postal system. Furthermore, the *Tijdinghen* was generally reliable in its coverage, even with Verhoeven's caveat that he was printing what was credibly reported without making any claims to the truth of those reports beyond 'time will tell', so long as the reader was willing to read obliquely for news that reflected less well on the Habsburg dynasty. Defeats were not trumpeted with the headlines and woodcuts that accompanied victories, but the discerning reader will often see them unmistakably communicated in unobtrusive references. The one shortcoming was exceptional slowness: Verhoeven sat on reports for days before printing them, both to be certain of their reliability, and to be certain that they would not cause offence to the authorities.

This was not the case with the later Antwerp newspapers of Verdussen and Binnart, although these too were censored by cathedral canons. In the 1630s and '40s news from more distant newswriting centres such as Vienna and Rome was generally a week or two faster than it had been in the 1620s, despite the continual disruption of postal services by Swedish military activity. Like the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, these were well-supplied and generally reliable newspapers, with a wider spread of regular sources in northern Germany than Verhoeven had, but they lacked the unique flavour of Verhoeven's illustrated newsbooks with frequent editorial asides: the *Ordinarissen Postilioen* and the *Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* were both modelled on the Amsterdam news-sheets, looking as much as possible like printed excerpts from newsletters rather than an editorial composition. Much the same can be said of Nicolaas Breyghel's newspaper in Bruges.

Pierre Hugonet's *Relations véritables* had an explicit editorial voice similar to that of Verhoeven's *Tijdinghen*, although clearly aimed at a rather different readership. The format was again that of a newsbook—not a conscious revival of Verhoeven's style, but an imitation of Renaudot's. The regular correspondence also shows a pared-down structure with quite clear co-ordination between different parts of the European news system: a greater number of regular reports from key cities along the main postal roads of Europe, and far fewer occasional reports carried along undigested among the regular correspondence. But unlike Verhoeven, Hugonet never had an effective monopoly,

and the numbers of newspapers produced in the Habsburg Netherlands continued to increase.

### Politics

In political terms, the history of current-affairs publishing is one of governments exploring the limits of their ability to influence information through censorship and propaganda. Concern with reputation as the basis of authority within and between states resulted in a readiness on the part of governments to facilitate the publication of their successes, and a desire to do whatever they could to minimise public awareness of their failures. Thus in the years 1585–1619 many news pamphlets not only covered events which were the occasion for government-sponsored public celebrations, but actually reproduced copies of official documents provided for this very purpose. No evidence has been found in the Habsburg Netherlands to suggest that such ephemeral works were subsidised by those in authority, in the way that more permanent memorials such as paintings, tapestries, chronicles, medals and inscriptions certainly were, but the availability of official documents to news publishers suggests a definite degree of government involvement. This involvement continued in the age of newspapers: special editions or substantial sections of regular issues were from time to time given over to printing verbatim copies of official or semi-official documents such as diplomatic exchanges, or letters sent from civil, ecclesiastical and military officials to their superiors. Far from disappearing once newspapers provided a forum for other types of news, this practice seems to have become even more common as the century progressed and as governments felt even greater need to influence informed opinion.

The vast bulk of the news that informed this opinion was not, however, propaganda emanating from the government, but consisted of the amorphous collections of public events reported by newswriters. The extent to which a government could viably censor these was a matter of how much time and money it was willing to invest, and how ready it was to be seen to be interfering with what was ultimately part of civil society. Too heavy-handed an intervention, after all, smacked of tyranny, and would only undermine reputation further.

Politically, the central conclusion of this work might be a Pirennesque liberal teleology. Belgium's unique geo-cultural position, on the fault-line of Germanic and Romance language areas, and at the crossroads of the Rhine–Maas–Schelt delta, the Channel and the land routes of northern France and western Germany, gave it an open culture which survived and thrived even

under the Spanish rule reimposed in 1585. By 1616 the Archdukes had reached a highpoint of absolutism in their press laws. Despite this, Belgium's open communications and vigorous press, protected by the magistracies of the great cities, were ultimately too powerful a social force: the system of coercion gave way to one of compromise, and by 1690 censorship of the newspaper press had to be abandoned altogether. Although Jürgen Habermas situates the invention of the newspaper over half a century after it actually took place, this would fit the general narrative of his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.<sup>4</sup> A more cynical view (fitting better with Pirenne's own periodisation) might be that the crown was interested in newspapers only when it was concerned about the opinion of its subjects and that these opinions were increasingly of less interest to the absolutist state as the seventeenth century progressed. A court gazette was useful to communicate with the 'quality' at home and abroad, but more lowly publications could safely be ignored. By 1690 a system of pensions kept even the foreign gazettes friendly in peacetime, with the creaking structures of censorship developed two centuries before abandoned in favour of more cost-effective methods. On this view, the liveliness of the press in the Habsburg Netherlands is an index of its political irrelevance. Neither grand narrative is entirely convincing. Ultimately, the central authorities were caught in a dilemma which required a constant renegotiation of the compromise between information and propaganda: truthful news was of economic benefit to taxpayers, but propaganda was what won the agreement of estates to vote the extraordinary subsidies which were needed for the monarchy's wars.

Perhaps a more useful issue is not a simple polarity between press freedom and press controls, but the contestation of publicity between different privileged elements within the power structures of the Habsburg Netherlands: the civic magistracies, the provincial councils, the central councils, the royal court, the diocesan clergy, the universities and the religious orders. The justification of all sixteenth-century censorship edicts had been the fight against heresy and sedition; in the seventeenth century, the concern had firmly shifted to reputation and libel, and the fight was between different types of Catholics and loyalists. The particular type of pamphlet known to jurists as a 'defamatory libel' was usually a product of such struggles, as were many of the unlicensed pamphlets investigated by the Officer Fiscal of Brabant and the Privy Council. The failure of the centre's (often half-hearted) attempts to gain control of the press after 1640 was due primarily to the determination of local authorities to retain their own control, not to any absolute freedom of the press from

4 Habermas places the newspaper's first appearance at the 'Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts' (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (5th reprint of 2nd ed., Frankfurt, 1996), p. 72).

political intervention. The Church itself was divided into different interest groups, and the consensus on which any effective control relied repeatedly broke down in the course of the bitter theological and ecclesiological infighting of the seventeenth century.

Political decisions also had profound repercussions on the press in indirect ways. For Balthasar II Moretus and François Foppens, the freedom of the press meant not freedom from censorship (after all, some degree of what the Stationers' Company of London called 'due and politick regulation' was perceived to be in the trade's interests), but freedom from customs duties.<sup>5</sup> Another area of government activity which was incidentally of great importance to those who hoped to print foreign news on a weekly basis was the regulation of postal carrying. Like publicity, the posts were a field of contestation between different interest groups. The postal riots in Antwerp in 1659, the culmination of the long struggle between the Tassis service and the city carriers, were only the most extreme example of a more general phenomenon: the cities of Middelburg and Rheims and the universities of Paris and Oxford were as jealous of outsiders infringing their carrying privileges.<sup>6</sup> The Tassis service itself was not a harmonious whole, as is clear from the contests between the head office in Brussels and the semi-autonomous post offices of Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. The importance of the posts to the press is seen most clearly in France and Scandinavia, where the beginnings of newspaper publication coincided with postal reform.

At many levels, government action influenced the press. In the Habsburg Netherlands, government regulation determined who could print and sell books and newspapers, what news could not be printed without fear of punishment, whether the level of duty enabled them to obtain paper and sell their products at a competitive price, and what postal services were available to provide the news. But while policy decisions had an important influence on the

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5 The Stationers' 'Humble Remonstrance' of April 1643 is reproduced in Edward Arber (ed.), *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1555-1640*, vol. 1 (London & Birmingham, 1875), pp. 584-588; for a discussion, see Ian Gadd, 'The Mechanics of Difference', in R. Myers & M. Harris (eds), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade* (Winchester, 1997), pp. 93-111.

6 See e.g. *Ordonnantie op het Ontfanghen, Senden en Bestellen vande Brieven van Middelburgh* (Middelburg, Anthony de Later, 1649); *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 12. Decembre 1650. Donné en faveur des Messagers de l'Université de Paris, et pour le messenger de la ville de Reims [...] Contre les Maistres des Courriers, Postes & Relais de France; portant défenses d'establir leurs bureaux ailleurs que sur les routes ordinaires des généralitez, et non pas dans lesdites villes, ny y faire aucune fonction de postes* (Paris, P. Charpentier, n.d.).

patterns of news exchange and publication, they were not fundamental to the phenomenon.

### The Culture of Opinion

The default assumption of sixteenth and seventeenth-century commentators was that there was lively barbershop, tavern and passenger-barge debate. This was a phenomenon considered so obvious as to be the basis for an argument by Edmund Campion at his trial in 1581, and was mentioned as a general practice in the 1609 proclamation of the Archdukes prohibiting debates between their subjects and Dutch visitors regarding religion and recent history. Its relevance in the fictionalized narrative frames of polemics written in the form of debates is also suggestive, although perhaps not so reliable as evidence of what happened in the world rather than on the page. Even before there were any such things as newspapers and coffee houses, citizens were able to express personal opinions about public affairs.

Thus it may be unhelpful to see the difference between celebratory pamphlets and informative newspapers as a change in how civil conversation functioned. Rather, occasional pamphlets bearing news to be celebrated should not be seen as precursors of newspapers, but as a different genre filling a different market niche. Rumours of defeat may have been eagerly circulated, but certain news of victory was what sold prints and pamphlets.<sup>7</sup> Newspapers, on the other hand, relied on customers who bought regularly in order to keep abreast of developments, not on those who wanted details of individual great events. They gave printed expression to a very different aspect of the oral culture they supplemented. Their serial, and in many cases explicitly annalistic character (in numbering and signatures) made them in some ways closer to the almanac chronicle than to the pamphlet or print. Abraham Verhoeven's newsbook format with headlines and illustrations, adopted in London in an unillustrated version, was the closest to collapsing the difference. But if one looks past the front page, to the general news printed inside, it becomes clear that these newspapers are still far from being the propaganda pieces typical of the pamphlet market.

There were certainly shades of publicity, so that what could safely be spoken of as a private opinion would be dangerous to preach or to print for all

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7 Henry Ettinghausen, 'The News in Spain: "Relaciones de sucesos" in the Reigns of Philip III and IV', *European History Quarterly* 14 (1984), pp. 14–16.

to read.<sup>8</sup> Despite this, the fundamental assumptions about state and society implied some measure of free speech and free association to be essential to man's social and political nature. The lack of structural guarantees of these freedoms made them subject at times to arbitrary suppression, but the ideal of 'civil conversation' nevertheless presupposed a certain degree of freedom, and an implication of tyranny always accompanied news of its suppression. Examples range from Richard Verstegan's 1589 lament of the lack of 'free speech' in Elizabethan England,<sup>9</sup> to Mazarin's anger, almost seventy years later, at Hugonet's reporting that he had attempted to ban the discussion and dissemination of foreign news.<sup>10</sup> The same suggestion of tyranny is implicit in Hugonet's coverage of the imposition of censorship in Cromwellian England and Swedish-occupied Poland,<sup>11</sup> and is quite explicit in Verhoeven's earlier coverage of the atmosphere of suspicion in Holland in 1623, or among English Catholics in 1626.<sup>12</sup>

Newspapers were intended to feed and facilitate the human desire to acquire and share news. Differences between newspapers can in part be explained by the cultural differences between the linguistic areas in which they appeared. Comparison with other newspapers shows that in appearance (an illustrated newsbook) and in editorial rhetoric (with front page headlines, and often ironic apostrophes to the reader) Abraham Verhoeven's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was quite exceptional among newspapers of the 1620s. This clear difference in style could well be due to the attitudes of the wealthy Antwerp loyalists who were probably Verhoeven's patrons and primary target readership: men with wide business concerns, and a keen interest in visual art and rhetorical exercises. That the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was also aimed beyond this group, to a secondary readership consisting of the burghers of other towns in

8 The States of Holland, in replying to a proposal made by the Prince of Orange in 1650, complained that he had printed his proposition 'waer deur de selve inder daet is gedaen aen de geheele Gemeente, jae aen al de Wereldt', justifying their decision to do the same with their reply (*Noodige Aenmerckinge Op seeckere Propositionen In Junio 1650. gedaen inde Hollantsche Steden*, n.p., 1650).

9 *The copy of a letter* (Antwerp, 1589), p. 3.

10 *RV* 1656 no. 36 (23 September), pp. 426–427.

11 London (15 Feb.), *RV* 1656 no. 6 (26 Feb.), pp. 66–67; Hamburg (3 April), *ibid.* no. 14 (22 April), p. 161.

12 'Hier es wonder mistrouw onder de menschen niemant en derff metten anderen van den Staet ees kicken, Ick meyne sulckx noyt gheschiedt te wesen onder die oude Tyrannen', The Hague (10 May), *NT* 1623 no. 61 (23 May); 'Wt Engelant verstaetmen dat de persecutie vande Catholijcken so groot is dat den een Catholijck niet en derf den anderen op t'straet aenspreken', Cologne (n.d.), *NT* 1626 no. 70 (26 June).

the Habsburg and the United Netherlands, seems clear from the editorial addresses to the reader, and a further readership of artisans and skilled labourers cannot be discounted. The social context of the reading and discussion of general news also gave an immediate oral dimension to the consumption of newspapers, besides the likely further oral diffusion of news obtained from printed sources.

The later newspapers of Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent were also intended for those of the middling sort with international business interests and a social practice of news exchange. By 1689 even a pedlar could consider a copy of a newspaper or a recent pamphlet a suitable token of friendship.<sup>13</sup> The *Relations véritables* was, like the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, much more clearly a luxury product with a format prodigal of paper and the leisure to provide editorial asides. The price (3 stivers), the use of French, the advertisement for the *Livre de la Noblesse de Brabant*, and the detailed coverage of court affairs from across Europe all suggest that the main target audience was primarily courtly rather than mercantile. Other factors suggest that it was also very deliberately intended for an international market, in much the same way as French-language newspapers printed in England and Holland, and later in Cologne.

This is another aspect of the readership of news publications printed in the Habsburg Netherlands: the exile and export market of French Guisards, ligueurs, dévots and Frondeurs, Arminian Republicans, Anglican Royalists, and Dutch, English, Irish and Scottish Catholics. For the proscribed Catholics of the United Provinces and the British Isles the Habsburg Netherlands were a refuge and a publishing centre,<sup>14</sup> for the political Catholics of France they were a natural ally in the struggle against the politiques and Huguenots aligned with German and Dutch Protestantism, making Flanders the propaganda as well as military bastion of Habsburg power in northern Europe.

Newspapers were one way that people gained information about events they could not witness themselves. There were other ways, as outlined above. Nevertheless, newspapers would seem to have come to play a key role in integrating different ways of apprehending events. The atlases, maps, prints and chronicles advertised in the Dutch newsheets show that newspaper readers

13 Interrogation of Margriete L'Espine, 1689, Raad van State 1846, unnumbered, mentioning a pedlar who bought a pamphlet to give to the man to whom his nephew was apprenticed, 'vuyt vrindtschap'.

14 See Paul Arblaster, 'The Southern Netherlands Connection: Networks of Support and Patronage', in *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720*, edited by Benjamin J. Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop and Judith Pollmann (Manchester, 2008), pp. 123–138.



were expected to want supplementary information about the parts of the world where major contemporary events took place. Series of engraved portraits of famous people showed what those who were regularly mentioned in the press looked like, for instance Petrus De Jode's series of portraits of the rulers and commanders of the 1620s and '30s, later collected and printed as a single volume in Cologne.<sup>15</sup> Newspapers themselves were collections of different genres: besides extracts from newsletters they gave printed expression to rumours, opinions and official statements. They fitted into a wider social context; they were expected to be read aloud and their reports to be discussed and compared. Special editions of newspapers replaced celebratory pamphlets which stood alone, the institution of a newspaper providing a framework for marketing and appreciating such occasional publications. Pamphleteering did not decline as a result, it simply shifted to a different market niche: there were fewer pamphlets providing news of events, and far more providing interpretations and commentaries on the events reported in the press. Almanac compilers increasingly relied on newspaper reports when up-dating their chronicles, including many more recent events than formerly, and jettisoning many more of the older events. Even contemporary and near-contemporary historians relied on newspapers for details of public events, and did so from the very earliest days of newspaper publication.<sup>16</sup> Thus newspapers contributed not only to the perceptions of contemporaries, but also—perhaps even more—to what future historians perceived to be the main concerns and trends of the period.

Initially newspapers were one aspect of this more general culture of printed, manuscript and oral communication. As they became established, their presence subtly transformed the culture around them. The availability of newspapers changed the nature of pamphleteering, almanac compilation and the writing of history. By providing uniform and relatively reliable reports, newspapers gave clarity and some degree of respectability to discussions of public affairs, leading the currents of information into fixed channels which became ever better established. The tenth-century *Secreta secretorum* shows that there was nothing new about government concern with public opinion, but newspapers changed the ways in which those in authority were forced to engage with and try to influence opinion.<sup>17</sup> The press could not be a neutral force: if the

15 *Theatrum Principum, Ducum et Comitum, sive eorum vera ad vivum delineatio, qui hanc nostram aetatem rebus praeclarè gestis illustrarunt* (Cologne, Andreas Binghius, 1642).

16 See above, p. 72; B.A. Vermaseren, 'Van nieuwsbericht tot geschiedwerk', *Het Boek*, n.s. 28 (1944–1946), pp. 241–257; Raymond, *Invention*, chapter 6.

17 See M.A. Manzalaoui, *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, vol. 1 (Early English Text Society 276; Oxford, 1977), pp. ix–xv.

authorities did not engage with it constructively, factional or foreign interests would. The reliance of editors on the limited newswriting network of great cities contributed substantially to the creation of a unified view of what was happening in the world, shared across Europe. The appearance of the *Gazeta nueva* (Madrid, 1661) and the *Merkuryusz Polski* (Cracow, 1661) was the summit of this process: every part of the Western European newswriting community now had a newspaper which reproduced news from all the other parts. Over the preceding half century the publication of weekly reports of the public affairs in a handful of Germanic and Romance languages had gradually built up an expression in print of the shared communication and political concerns of western Europe.

But just as this integration reached its completion, internal disintegration had already begun. Increasingly, newspaper publication fragmented to meet more narrowly defined markets, corresponding to the geographic, social and intellectual divisions of Western Europe. International coverage of European wars and diplomacy became the speciality of elite newspapers printed in French and distributed throughout Europe from a few centres (Paris, Amsterdam, Cologne, Brussels). National and local papers were taken up with advertising, shipping lists and news of affairs in the locality, the capital, and the country's overseas possessions. The 'curious lovers of greater knowledge than the blunt ignorant mass' now looked less to newspapers than to the new specialist scholarly press: the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (London, from 1665), the *Journal des savants* (Paris, from 1665), the *Saggi di Naturali Esperienze fatte nell' Accademia del Cimento* (Florence, from 1666), and *Il Giornale de Letterati* (Rome, from 1668). This very profusion of publications and periodical genres created a demand for new structures to gather and sift the information: monthly reviews and digests; coffeehouses and reading clubs with multiple newspaper subscriptions. Around 1650 any well-travelled merchant or gentleman would have been able to piece together a picture of what was going on throughout Europe from any issue of any newspaper; by 1700 linguistic variety, provincialism and specialisation meant that this could no longer be the case. Newspapers were beyond the grasp of any single reader, as they were beyond the control of any single government. In the first years of the following century this trend was even clearer. Newspapers appeared in Moscow (1703), Boston (1704), Jamaica (1718) and Mexico (1722), leaving their roots in fifteenth-century Latin Christendom far behind.

# Bibliography

As a number of the points made in this work rely not on a reading of individual pamphlets or newspapers, but on the patterns of production over a period of time, all pamphlets, newspapers, and similar ephemeral publications of the Habsburg Netherlands which were consulted have been listed. This bibliography therefore includes, to the best of my knowledge, the only attempt specifically to catalogue early-modern news publications from the Habsburg Netherlands, although even so it is far from exhaustive. Folke Dahl's recommendation has been followed that when citing pre-1820 news publications the repository of the edition consulted be given.<sup>1</sup> Other works consulted but not cited have been omitted, or the bibliography would be twice as long.

The structure of the bibliography is thus as follows:

- archival material cited (by city)
- published sources cited (alphabetical by author or editor)
- ephemeral publications printed or probably printed in the Habsburg Netherlands or the Prince-Bishopric of Liège (in chronological order)
- newspapers cited in the text or comprised in the statistics provided (by place of publication)
- other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publications cited (alphabetical by author or compiler, or if anonymous by title)
- secondary works cited (alphabetical by author or editor)

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| 37 (64*) | Open brieven der Aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella, 11 August 1621  |
| 93 (57*) | Stukken van het proces ingediende door het Sint-Lucasgild, 1612–1613 |

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<sup>1</sup> Folke Dahl, 'On Quoting Newspapers', offprint from *Journalism Quarterly* (December 1948).



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- |             |                                     |
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- |        |  |
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- |      |   |
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- |      |   |
|------|---|
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### Ephemeral Publications

printed or probably printed in the Habsburg Netherlands or the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, 1585–1659: news pamphlets, broadsheets, ballads, prints, almanacs, prognostications, popular chronicles and select proclamations (in chronological order)

- 1585 *Articulen ende Conditien vanden Tractate aenghegaen ende ghesloten, tusschen die Hoocheyt vanden Prince van Parma, Plaisance, etc. Stadthouder, Gouverneur ende Capiteyne generael, vande Landen van Herwaertsover, inden name vande Conincklijke Ma[je]steyt van Spaengien als Hertoghe van Brabant ter eenre, ende die Stadt van Bruessele ter ander zyden, den thienden Meerte M.D.LXXXV* (Ghent, Gualtier Manilius, 1585). UBG, Meul 622.
- *Eenen Wellecom ende Adieu opde Reconciatie der Stadt van Brussele* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1585). KBH, Knuttel 734.
- *Crudelitatis Calvinianae exempla duo recentissima ex Anglia. Quorum primum, continet barbarum ac saevum Calvinianorum edictu recenter editum contra Catholicos: alterum vero, exhibet indignissimam mortem Illustrissimi viri comitis Northumbriae in Castro Londinensi occisi mense Julio huius Anni. 1585* (n.p., 1585). KBH, 1124 B 3.
- *Van die verlossinghe der vermaerder Coopstadt van Antwerpen, ende van die groote goedertierenheyt des Heeren, een zeer schoone Onderwysinghe tot ghemeyn ruste ende Welvaren des landts* (n.p., 1585). KBH, 1712 G 12.
- *Het beclach van Antwerpen, beclaghende het quaet gouvernement dat sy tot noch toe gheleden heeft, door haer licht ghelooven, waer inne wort verhaelt al den handel die buyten en binnen haer gheschiet is, tot waerschouwinghe dat elck hem wachte voor alle gheesten soo licht te ghelooven* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1585). SBA, C 33881.
- *Coppye van den brief, die den grooten Turck ghesonden heeft, aen de Conincklijke Majesteyt van Spaegnien* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1585). KBH, Knuttel 728b.

- *Cort verhael van eenen Treffelijcken aenslach onlancx voortsgekeert opte Stadt van Shertogenbosch, ende byden Borgeren ende ingesetenen vromelyck wederstaen ende affgeweert* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Jan Scheffer, 1585). KBH, Knuttel 730.
- 1586 *Beschrijvinghe Oft cort verhael vande harde belegheringhe ende inneminghe vande Stadt ghenaeamt de Grave. Aldus sterckelijc belegghert ende victorieuselijck ghewonnen door den Prince van parma, etc.* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1586). KBH, Knuttel 768.
- *Beschrijvinghe Der stadt van Venloo, ende haer stercte, hoe ende in wat maniere de selve beleighert, beschoten ende victorieuselijck ghewonnen is. Door onsen ghenadghe Heere Prince van Parma, ende van Playsance, etc. Stadthouder ende Gouverneur generael over dese Nederlanden, etc. De tweede victorie van sijn Hoocheyt nae de Reconciliatie van Antwerpen* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1586). KBH, Knuttel 770; UBG Meul 651.
- *Beschryvinghe, oft cort verhael, van het beleg, ende innemen, der Stadt Nuys. Ghewonnen, ende Vechtender hant ingenomen, door den seer doorluchtigen, ende Victorieusen Heere den Prince van Parma, Plaisance, etc. Goeverneur ende Capiteyn generael van herwaerts overe, den xxvi. Julij. Anno M.D.LXXXVI.* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische with Jan van Brecht, 1586). UBG, Meul 8762.
- *Beschrijvinghe Oft cort verhael, van het ontset der stadt Zutphen, ende vande Wonderlijcke victorie deur het selve ontsedt gheschiet* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische with Jan van Brecht, 1586). UBG, Tiele 309.
- *Discours ou Briefve description du revictuaillement de la ville de Zutphen, & la victoire qui son Alteze a obtenu par icelle* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, to be sold by Jean de Brecht, 1586). KBH, Knuttel 767a.
- 1587 *Waerachtich verhael, hoe ende in wat manieren de coninginne van Schotlandt haer heeft ghewillichlijck begeven ter doot, achter-volghende de sentencie by de Coninghinne van Engellant ende haeren Raet, den 16. Februarij .1587. gegeven, stervende int Catholicq Roomsche Gheloove* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1587). KBB, LP 1088 A.
- *Cort verhael vande comste der coninginne van Algier gearriveert in Roome: Ende hoe dat sy haer heeft laten doopen met hare ses kinderen ende matroonen, die met haer in heur compagnie zijn ghecommen, inhoudende oock de cause van heurlieder vlucht. Ghetranslateert wt de italiaensche copije ghedruct te Venesien in onse Nederlantsche sprake* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1587). Thysius.
- *De nieuwe afworpinghe ende nederlaege vande Duytsche Ruyters, die de hertoghe van Guise verslegen heeft des swoensdaechs den iiij: November 1587 binnen Aubreau. Oock van het getal vande dooden, gequeste ende gheveughenen* (Antwerp, Mattheus de Rische, 1587). KBH, Knuttel 776a; KBB.
- 1588 Adam Blackwood, *Martyre de la royne d'Escosse douairiere de France. Contenant le vray discours des traïsons à elle faictes à la suscitation d'Elizabet Angloise, par*

- lequel les mensonges, calomnies & faulses accusations dressees contre ceste tresvertueuse, trescatholique & tresillustre Princesse sont esclarcies & son innocence averee* (Antwerp, Gaspar Fleysben, 1588). MPM.
- *Die wonderlijcke groote Armade die zijne Magt. den Coninck van Spaengien heeft toegerust op Enghelandt, met groot ghetal van volck, so wel te peerde als te voet, ende t'ghewelt van Schepen ende Galiassen, die in dese Armade gaen met groote overvloedicheyt van victualie, als Buschuyt, Wijn, Vleys, Vis, Rijs ende Caesen, ende alle dinghen overvloedich dat nootelijk is totten Crijch* (Ghent, Hans van Salensen, 1588). KBH, Knuttel 832.
- *Advertissement, des Catholiques Anglois, aux François Catholiques, du danger où ils sont de perdre leur Religion, & d'experimenter, comme en Angleterre, la cruauté des Ministres, s'ils reçoivent à la Couronne, un Roy qui soit Heretique* (n.p., 1588; 'Approuvé par les Docteurs de Louvain'). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Declaration de la Volonte Du Roy, faite depuis son departement de Paris* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Coppie d'une lettre escrite au Roy, et l'extraict d'une autre aux Princes et Seigneurs François, le 17. jour de May dernier, Par Monseigneur le Duc de Guise, Pair & grand Maistre de France* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Requete Presentée au Roy par Messieurs les Cardinaux Princes, Seigneurs et des deputez de la Ville de Paris, & autres Villes Catholiques associéz & unis pour la deffence de la Religion Catholique Apostolique & Romaine* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Propos tenus au Roy a la presentation de la requete des Princes, Seigneurs & Communautéz de l'Union pour la deffence de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine* (Brussels, Jean Mommaert, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Discours Veritable sur ce qui est arrive a Paris le Douzieme de May, 1588* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Edict du Roy, pour l'Etablissement d'un asseuré repose au fait de la religion Catholicque, Apostolicque, & Romaine, & union de ses sujets Catholicques avec sa Majesté, pour l'extirpation des scismes & heresies par tout son Royaume, païs, & terres de son obeissance: Publié en sa Court de Parlement de Rouen, le dixneuvième jour de Juillet, 1588* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4.
- *Articles accordez au nom Du Roy, entre la Royne sa mere d'un part, Monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon, & Monsieur le Duc de Guyse, tant pour eux, que pour les autres Princes, Prelats, Seigneurs, Gentilzhommes, Villes, Communautéz, & autres qui ont suivy le party, d'autre part* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1588). KBB, VB 9744 A 4; KBB, II 24231 A (3).
- *Histoire véritable des choses les plus signales et memorables qui se sont passées en la ville de Bruges, & presques par toute la Flandre, sous le Gouvernement de*

- tresillustre Prince Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimay, &c.* (Dusseldorf [false address?] anon., 1588). KBH, Knuttel 851.
- *Arvisi della Cina et Giapone, del fine dell' anno 1586. Con l'arrivo delli Signori Giaponesi nell'India. Cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù, Ricevute il mese d'Ottobre 1588* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1588).
- 1589** *Ampliation du discours intitulé: Histoire Véritable des choses passées, soubz le gouvernement du tres-illustre Prince Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimay. Ensemble, Apologie contenant les raisons qui ont meu le Prince de Chimay de respondre à ses calumnieurs* (n.p., 1589). KBH, Knuttel 872.
- *Puncten ende articulen by mynen Heere den Hertoch van Parme, ende Plaisancie, Ridder vanden Gulden Vliese, Stadthouder Gouverneur, ende Capiteyn Generael van de Landen van herwertsover Geaccordeert aende Borghers ende Inwoonders der Stadt S. Geertruyen Berghe* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1589). UBG Acc. Meul.
- *The Copy of a Letter, Lately Written by a Spanishe Gentleman to His Friend in England, in Refutation of Sundry Calumnies, There Falsly Bruited and Spread Emonge the People. The Originall Whereof Was Written in Spanish, since the Authors Being in England, Who by Reason of a Ship of Those That Miscaried of the Late Armado, Was Taken, and There Detained Prisoner, untill His Delivery by Ransome* (n.p. [Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius for Richard Verstegan], 1589).
- *Verclaringhe van de groote ende subyte veranderinghe vande dierte ende differentie vanden coop vande graenen des Jaers vyfthien hondert LXXXVII ende LXXXVIII. daer nae volghende* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1589]). UBG R 418/3.
- *Cruaute plus que barbare infidelement perpetree par Henry de Valois, en la personne de Monsieur l'illustrissime Cardinal de Guise, Archevesque, Duc de Reims, dédié & consacré à Dieu* (n.p.d. [1589]). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- *Pourtraict et Description du Massacre Proditoirement commis au cabinet et par l'auctorite du Roy, pendant les Estats a Blois en la personne de Henry de Lorraine Magnanime Duc de Guise, Protecteur & Deffenseur de l'Eglise Catholique, & du Royaume de France* (n.p.d. [1589]). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- *Warachtighe ende verschrickelijcke beschrijvinge van vele Toovenaers ende Toovenerssen oft Vandoysen, hoe ende waerom men die herwaerts ende ghentswaerts verbrandt heeft in dit teghenwoordich Jaer 1589. Wat sy bedreven ende bekent hebben. Oock van eenen Toovenaar die hem selven conste veranderen in eenen Weirwolf, den welcken tot Bepper (dry Mijlen van Ceulen ghelegen) Is gheius-ticeert opte xxxi Octobris 1589. En wat boose wercken hy bedreven heeft* (Antwerp, Jan van Ghelen, 1589). UBG, Meul 8777.
- 1590** *Copie d'une lettre de Monsieur Jean Bodein, contenant Prognostication merveilleuse du succes des guerres du Royaulme de France* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1590). KBB, VB 9744 A 5.

- Pierre Cornejo, *Bref Discours et Veritable des Choses Plus Notables arrivees au siege memorable de la renommee Ville de Paris, & defence d'icelle, par Monseigneur le Duc de Nemours, contre le Roy de Navarre* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1590). KBB, VB 9744 A 5.
- *Het Martelie vanden E. P. F. Albertus van Leyden* (n.p.d. [after 1590]). ASR 912.
- 1591 *Lettres de N.S.P. le Pape Gregoire XIII. exhortatoires & monitoires aux Princes, Ducs, Marquiz, Comtes, & autres grands Seigneurs & Nobles du Royaume de France, suyvens le party d'Henry de Borbon, jadis Roy de Navarre. Et Aussy aux Communautez, Universitez, Peuples, & autres personnes seculieres, qui sont soubz la domination dudict Henry: afin qu'ilz ne le suyvent d'avantaige, & ne le favorisent en quelque façon que ce soit* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1591). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- *Discours Veritable de la Delivrance miraculeuse de Monseigneur le Duc de Guye nagueres captif au chasteau de Tours* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1591). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- Pedro Cornejo, *Discurso y Breve Relacion de las Cosas acontecidas en el cerco de la famosa Villa de Paris, y su defensa por el Duque de Nemours, contra Henrique de Borbon, intitulado Rey de Navarra y Francia. Embiada al Serenissimo Señor el Principe de Ascoli, &c.* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1591). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- Pedro Cornejo, *Compendio y Breve Relation de la Liga y Confederacion Francesa: con las cosas en aquel Reyno acontecidas desde el año de ochenta y cinco hasta el presente de noventa, en el qual ultra de la historia se tocan las mas notables cosas q. en la Francia se hallen* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1591). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- 1592 *A Delaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles Presupposed to be Intended against the Realme of England. Wherein the Indifferent Reader Shall Manifestly Perceave, by Whome, and by what Meanes, the Realme Is Broughte into These Pretended Perills* (n.p. [Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius or Arnout Coninx for Richard Verstegan], 1592).
- *An Advertisement Written to a Secretarie of My L. Treasurers of Ingland, by an Inglish Intelligencer as He Passed through Germanie towards Italie. Concerninge an Other Booke Newly Written in Latin, and Published in Diverse Languages and Countreyes, against Her Majesties Late Proclamation for Searche and Apprehension of Seminary Priestes and Their Receavers* (n.p. [Antwerp, Arnout Coninx for Richard Verstegan], 1592).
- *Defaict des Huguenots Albigeois devant la ville de Lautrech, par Monseigneur le Duc de Joyeuse, avec les noms des Chiefs & Principaux de l'Armee Huguenotte, qui apres le combat ont esté trouvees morts ou prins prisoniers. Prinse d'un Lettre escripte par un Gentilhomme Thoulosan a un sien amy de la ville de Lyon, du xxix. de May. 1592* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1592]). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.

- *Copie d'une Lettre Envoyee a Sedain au Vicomte de Touraine, qu'on pensoit estre audict lieu par le Prince Dombre, filz du Ducq de Monpensier: Laquelle a esté interceptee avecq plusieurs aultres, par les gens des Princes de l'Union* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1592). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- *Josephi Stephani Episcopi Vestani, Decani Ecclesiae Valentinae, in causam Henrici Borbonii, ad Episcopos, & Presbyteros, ceterosque Catholicos regni Francorum, Paraenesis* (Antwerp, Plantin Office, 1592). KBB, VB 9744 A 5.
- 1593 *Exhortation de Monseigneur l'Ill.me Cardinal de Plaisance Legat de N.S.P. le Pape Clement VIII. & du S. Siege Apostolique, au Royaume de France. Aux Catholiques du mesme Royaume qui suivent le party de l'Heretique* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1593]). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- *Replique a la Responce envoyee sous le nom de Monsieur le Duc de Mayenne, & autres Princes, Prelats, Sieurs & autres personnages assemblez à Paris: sur la proposition à eux faicte de la part des Princes, Prelatz, Officiers de la Couronne, & principaux Seigneurs Catholiques, suyvens le party du Roy de Navarre; à fin de parvenir au repos tant necessaire à ce Royaume, pour la conservacion de la Religion Catholique, & de l'Estat. Avec la Responce a la susdite Requeste* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1593). KBB, VB 9744 A 6.
- Maximilian de Vignacourt, *Discours sur l'estat des Pays Bas. Auquel sont deduites les causes de ses troubles, & calamitez, & leurs remedes* (Arras, Guillaume de la Riviere, 1593). KBH, Knuttel 898a.
- 1594 *Serenissimo Archiduci Ernesto, Belgii Supremo Gubernatori. Societatis Jesu Juventus studiosa* (Antwerp, Martin Nutius, 1594). KBH, Knuttel 914.
- *Newes from Spayne and Holland Conteyning an Information of Inglish Affayres in Spayne with a Conference thereuppon in Amsterdame of Holland. Written by a Gentleman Travelour Borne in the Low Countryes and Brought up from a Child in Ingland, unto a Gentleman His Frend and Oste in London* (n.p. [Antwerp, Arnout Coninx for Richard Verstegan], 1594).
- *Een Schoon Dialogus oft t'samen-sprekinghe, tusschen Belgica ende Hope tot Peys, tracterende ter eeren vanden Hoogh-gheboren doorluchtighen Vorst Ernesto. By der gratien Godts Roomschen Keyzers broeder, Aerts-hertoghe van Oostenrijck, Hertoghe van Bourgondien, Stiers, Carinthen, ende Witten-berch, Grave van Habsborch, Thyrol, &c. Gouverneur generael van dese Nederlanden* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1594). KBH, Knuttel 915.
- 1595 *Serenissimo Archiduci Ernesto, Belgii Moderatori, magno omnium bonorum mærore erepto, parentat studiosa Juventus Societatis Jesu in Belgio* (Antwerp, Joachim Troгнаesius, 1595). KBH, Knuttel 935.
- *Brief Traicte De la Victoire que le Compte Charles de Mansfelt, Prince du Saint Empire, Capitaine Lieutenant General en Hongarie à l'encontre du Turc, devant la*

- ville de Strigoine, a par la grace de Dieu obtenu, le 4. jour d'Aougst, l'An 1595 (Antwerp, Arnout Conincx, 1595). UBG, Meul 8795.
- *Certaines Nouvelles De la bonne & heureuse victoire, que par l'ayde de Dieu, le Comte Charles de Mansfelt at obtenu en Honguerie, pres la ville de Strigonia. 1595* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1595]). KBB, II 24231 A (4).
- *Discours veritable de la rendition de la Ville & du chasteau de Cambray, entre les mains du Roy Catholique d'Espagne, Par le victorieux Seigneur le conte de Fuentes. Avec deux Lettres escriptes par le conte susdict au conseil d'Estat de Sa Majesté. Ensemble la Capitulation des Articles au contract comprinses* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1595). KBH, Knuttel 930.
- *Cort ende waerachtich verhael van het innemen vande Stadt ende Casteel van Camerijck, deur mijn Heere den Grave van Fuentes, Lieutenant Generael over het Crijchsvolck ons genadichs heeren des Conincx van Spaignien, in dese Nederlanden* (Antwerp, Anthonis de Ballo, 1595). KBH, Knuttel 930a.
- *Poincts et Articles de la Reduction de la Ville, Chasteau et Citadelle de Cambray en l'obeissance de Sa Ma[jes]té Catholique* (Douai, Jean Bogart, n.d. [1595]). BNP.
- *Cort verhael van den aenslach ende veroveren van Liere, geschiet den xiv octob. M.D.XCV.* (Antwerp, Anthonis de Ballo, n.d. [1595]). KBH, Knuttel 937.
- *Brief recit de l'entreprinse et saisissement de la ville de Liere, faict le xiiij. d'Octobre, M.D.XCV.* (Antwerp, Anthonis de Ballo, 1595). UBG Acc.Meul.1595(9)
- *Discours ende warachtich verhael van het inne nemen van de stadt van Liere door den vyant, op den xiiii. dach van Octob. int Jaer M.D.XCV. ende hoe de selve wederom is in genomen gheweest op den zelve dach. Met de liste ende t'getal der soldaeten ende Crychsvolck die den vyant daer toe gebruyct heeft. Ende oock die naemen ende toenamen van de Capiteynen ende beveels lieden van den vyant, die int wederom inne nemen doot gebleven zyn* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1595]). KBH, Knuttel 939. UBG Acc.Meul.1595(12)
- 1596** *Waerachtich verhael van t'ghene datter gheschiet is int beleg van Calis ende het innemen van het Casteel. Ghebracht in donderdanicheyt van zijn Catholijcke Majesteyt, deur zijn Alderdoorluchtichste Hoocheyt. Den 17. April 1596. Met de vertellinghe vande reyse van ons volck naer La Fere. Altemael ghetrocken wt de brieven ghesonden soo van het Hof als vanden Legher* (Antwerp, Gilis Steltius, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Waerachtich Verhael van het innemen van het Casteel van Calis, mette particuliere declaratie vande doode ende ghevangene, aldaer van beyde sijden mette quantiteyt van provande ende amonitie daer in bevonden, so het selve gheschreven, ende overghesonden is wt de voorschreven stadt van Calis, den 24. Aprilis desen tegenwoordighen Jare 1596. ende oock gherelateert by diversche alomme present gheweest zijnde. Ghebracht in donderdanicheyt van sijne Majesteyt, deur zijn Alderdoorluchtichste Hoocheyt, den 24. April* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8.

- *Discours Veritable de la Signalee et Miraculeuse Prinse de la ville & Chasteau de Calais. Par tres-hault & trespuissant Prince Albert, Archiduc d'Austrice, & Cardinal du S. Siege Apostolique, Gouverneur & Lieutenant general de sa Majesté Catholique és pays bas. Avec le secours & revicaillement de la ville de la Fere* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Discours véritable des choses advenues au siège de Calais. Mise en l'obéissance de sa M. Catholique par son Alteze sérénissime. Le 17. d'avril 1596. Le tout tiré des lettres envoyées tant de la Court que du camp* (Mons, Charles Michel, 1596). KBB, II 79.597 A 6 LP.
- Adriaan Huberti, *Oprecht Conterfeytsel van de Stadt ende Casteel van Cales, hoe die voirß Stadt met Apointement van sijne doorluchtighe Hoocheyt, den Cardinael Albertus inghenomen is den 17. April 1596 en het Casteel vechtenderhandt den 24 voirß. Vraij pourtraict de la Ville et Chasteau de Calais, comme ladicte ville à estee prinse per apointement, par son Illustriß Alteße le Cardinal Albert le 17. d'Aprvil 1596. et le Chasteau per aßault le vintquatriesme ensuijvant* (Antwerp, Adriaan Huberti, 1596) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8; UBG, R1515(104).
- *Chanson nouvelle sur la prinse de Callais par Les Bourguignons en Avril 1596. Sur le chant, Rouen Dieu ta monstre Ou, Je vous supplire soldatz Wallons monstrez vous vous bons Champions* (n.p. [Arras], Jean Bourgeois, n.d. [1596]). BNP.
- *Capitulatie ende articulen vande Stadt van Ardres. De welcke es over gegeven inde handen vanden Alder doorluchtichsten ende victorieusten Aerts-hertoch ende Cardinael van Oistenryck int jaer M.D.XCVJ. den xxij. Mey. Met meer ander particulier verhaelingen het beleg der selver stadt aengaende* (n.p.d. [1596]; 'Naer de cotype ghedruckt tot Atrecht by Jan Borjoos'). KBB, V 10204 A 8; UBG, Meul 8798.
- *Gheweldinghe belegheringhe der Stadt van Ardres, bij sijne doorluchtighe Hoocheijt den Cardinael Albertus, den sevensten Meij 1596: ende inghenomen met apointement den 23 der voirß maent. Puißante aßiette de la Ville d'Ardres par son Alteße Serme. le Cardinal Albert le septieme de May L'An 1596 et prise par apointement le 23 dudit mois ensuijvant* (n.p. [Antwerp?], n.d. [1596]) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- Adriaan Huberti, *Dit is de leste, oprechte ende waerachtighe conterfeytinghe, vande belegheringhe der Stadt van Ardres. Voij icij le dernier, le plus parfaict, et veritable protraict, [sic] de laßiegement [sic] de la Ville d'Ardres* ([Antwerp], Adriaan Huberti, 1596). UBG, R1515(105).
- Adriaan Huberti, *Afbeeldinghe vander Stadt Hulst, met alle de omilighen[de] Sterckten. Delineation de la Ville de Hulst avecq tous les forts circonvoisins* ([Antwerp], Adriaan Huberti, 1596) [copperplate engraving]. UBG, R1515(80).
- *Discours au particulier de ce qui se passa a l'Isle de Hulst la nuictée du Jeudy & le vendredy ensuyvant 19. jour de Juillet, 1596* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8; UBG, AM.



- *Warachtich Verhael vant overleveren der Stadt van Hulst in Vlaenderen, aen d'alderdoorluchtichste Hoocheyt vanden Cardinael, ende Eerts-hertoghe Albertus van Oostenrijck, Gouverneur generael vande Nederlanden. Gheschiet den xx. dach Augusti. 1596* (Antwerp, Jan van Ghelen, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8; UBG, AM.
- *Waerachtich verhael vant overleveren der stadt van Hulst in Vlaenderen, aen d'alderdoorluchtichste Hoocheyt vanden Cardinael, ende Eertshertoge Albertus van Oostenrijcke, Gouverneur generael vande Nederlanden* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Een waerachtich nieu Liedeken, van het overgeven der Stadt Hulst, in handen van onsen Edelen, ende valianten Gouverneur, Cardinael Albertus, Op den 18. Augustus 1596. Op de wijze: Den Prince van Conde, etc.* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1596). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- P. van Overbeeck, *Vaillante entreprise sur le terroyre de Hulst, Pur son Alteze, le Cardinael Albert, executee par le coronel la Borlotte, le 10. de Julet de soyr a 10. heures, Ao. 1596. Le fort Mourvaert se rendit par appointment de 20. au soyr a 5. heures. Stouten aenslach opt lant ende polder van Hulst, voor syne Hoocheyt, den Cardinael Albert, gedaen by den coronel la Borlotte, den 10. Julij des avents ten 10. uren Ao. 1596. De Moer schans is overgegeven met appointment den 20. savens ten 5. uren* ([Antwerp], P. van Overbeeck, 1596) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- P. van Overbeeck, *Vaillante entreprinse sur le terroyre de Hulst, Pour son Alteze, le Cardinael Albert, executee par le coronel la Borlotte, le 10. de Julet, de soyr a 10. heures, Ao. 1596. Stouten aenslach opt lant, ende polder van Hulst, voor syne Hoocheyt, den Cardinael Albert, gedaen by den coronel la Borlotte, den 10. Julij des avents ten 10. uren Ao. 1596* ([Antwerp], P. van Overbeeck, 1596) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- Henri de Wachtendonck, *La Bellone Belgique, contenant la prinse des villes Calais, Ardres, & Hulst. La prinse & reprinse de la ville de Liere. La retraite de la Paix du Pays-bas. Eglogue. Sonnets sur la diversité du temps. Description d'aucunes cruautez par les Huguenots au Pays-bas* (Antwerp, Anthoine Thielens, 1596) UBG, AM.
- 1597 *Cort verhael, Van t'loos innemen der Stadt van Amiens, in Vrancrijck, gelegen in de Provintie van Picardyen: ghedaen met Godts gratie ende hulpe door een Spaensche Capiteyn ende overste genaemt Hernentello, Gouverneur van Dorlans: d'welck gheschiet is den 11. Meert int Jaer ons Heeren 1597* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, n.d. [1597]). KBB, V 10204 A 8; MPM, A3112.
- *Discours Touchant la Prise Admirable de la Grande et Puissante Ville d'Amiens Capitale de Picardie, saisi par les Espagnolz, le XI jour de Mars, l'an 1597* (Antwerp, Pauwels Stroobant, 1597). KBB, V 10204 A 8.

- Adriaan Huberti, *Conterfeijtinghe van de Stadt Amiens, soo die op den XI Meert 1597 subtylick is inghenomen gheweest met eenen waghen ende luttel volcx, waer aff Capiteijn was den Gouvern[eu]r van Dorlans. Protraict [sic] de la Ville d'Amiens, comme elle a esté subtiliment surprinse le XI Mars 1597. avec ung chariot et peu de gens desquels le Capitaine estoit le Gouverneur de Dourlans* (Antwerp, Adriaan Huberti, 1597) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Waerachtic Verhael, ende geschiedenis vanden loosen aenslach, den welcken den Byarnois aengerecht heeft op de Stadt van Atrecht, den 27. Meert 1597. ende hoe hy miraculeuselijcken van daer met schanden heeft moeten vertrecken* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1597). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- Adriaan Huberti, *Atrecht. Arras* ([Antwerp], Adriaan Huberti, 1597) [copperplate engraving]. KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Warachtich Verhael particulier van tghene datter is ghebeurt voor de stadt van Amiens, tusschen de belegerde der selver, ende de Fransoysche vyanden, opden xv. en xvj. ende principalyck den xvij. Julius lest leden int Jaer M.D.XCVII* (Antwerp, Pauwels Stroobant, 1597; 'Nae die Copye ghedruckt tot Atrecht'). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Translaet vande Ordinantie ende Mandaet van Zyner Key. Ma[jes]teyt vuytgegaen in hoochduytsche taele, tegens de Ingelsche Monopoliers ghenoept Marcantz avanturiers, residerende te Staden* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1597). UBG, Meul. 841.
- 1598 Thomas Saillius, *Brevis Narratio legationis excellmi. D. Francisci de Mendoza ad Sacram Caesaream Matem. ac ad Serenmos. Archiduces Matthiam & Maximilianum, necno ad Seram. Archiducissam Mariam & Ferdinandum filium eius primogenitum, caeterosq. Fratres eius: ac deniq. ad Seren. um Regem Poloniae* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1598). UBG, AM.
- *Articulen Ende conditien vanden Pays ende eeuwighe aliantie besloten tusschen den seer hoogen ende machtighen Princen, Philips byder gratien Gods, Catholijcke Coningh van Spaengien, &c. Ende Henrick de vierde van dier namen, door de selve gratie Aller-Christelijckste Coningh van Vranckrijck, in't jaer 1598. Hier zijn mede by ghevoecht d'Articulen vanden Pays besloten op't Casteel van Cambresy, An. 1559. tusschen den Catholijcken Coningh van Spangien, ende wylen Henrick de tweede, aller Christelijckste Coninck van Vranckrijck. Wt het François in het Nederduyts overgheset (n.p.d. [1598])*. KBH, Knuttel 1006.
- *Tractaet Oft verclaringhe vanden Peys, gesloten ende ghemaect tusschen onsen aldergenadichsten Heere den Coninck van Spaengien, ende den Alderchristelijcxsten Coninc van Vranckrijck, Henrick den vierden van dien name, heure Oiren ende nacomelingen, midtsgaders allen ende yghelijcken heure ondersaten, Coninckrijcken, Steden, Landen ende Heerlijcheden, met ooc de brieven van zijne Hoocheyt den Cardinael Albertus, Eertshertoghe van Oostenrijck, etc. Gouverneur*

- van dese Nederlanden voor sijne Mat. aen de Magistraet van Antwerpen, gheschreven in Date den lesten Meye 1598 (Antwerp, Gillis Stelsius, 1598). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- Leon de Meyere, *Poeme. Advis pour la paix de la Belgique. A Son Altesse* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1598). KBH, Knuttel 1026.
- *Dialogue, oft T'samen-sprekinge, Tusschen den Huysman, ende den Crijchsman. Tracterende van desen Nederlantschen Peys* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1598). KBB.
- *Beclach van die van Hollant en Zeelandt* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1598). KBB, V 10204 A 8.
- *Transport, Gedaen by zyne Majesteyt (aen de Infante zijn oudste Dochter) van de Nederlanden, Bourgoignen, ende Graefschap van Charollois: Mede inhoudende den Eedt van zijn Altese, vant onderhouden van de Catholijcke Religie, Ende voorts den geheelen handel van't Houwelijck, ende Houwelijcksche Conditien. Hier zijn noch by ghevoecht de Approbatie, Agreatie, ende den Eedt vanden Prince van Spaengien, van't Transport van dese Nederlanden ende Bourgoignen. Midtsgaders de Procuratie van d'Infante aen haren toecomenden Bruydegom ghegheven, om de Nederlanden t'ontfanghen in haren Name. Is na desen ten laetsten by ghevoecht, t'Vertoogh van de Staten van de Provincien aen zijn Altese* (n.p., 1598). KBH, Knuttel 1029.
- 1599 *Historien ende geschiedenissen van al het memorabelste datter gheschiet is zedert den Jare 1500. tot desen teghenwoordighen Jare, M.D.XCIX. Van nieu oversien ende vermeerderd* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1599). SBA, K104242.
- *Certaine Relation des obseques faicts a Philippe 2. de ce nom, Roy d'Espagnes, nostre Sire, nagueres en la Cité de Ferrare, y assistant N.S.P. le Pape Clement 8. Et en la ville de Bruxelles au Pays Bas, y assistant Son Alteze le Serenme. Prince André Cardinal d'Austrice, Gouverneur des Pays Bas, Capn. General, Avec les Seigneurs Chavalliers & Officiers de l'Ordre de la Toison dor, & autres Seigneurs des grands Consaulx d'Estat & Privé, & plusieurs autres. Ensemble l'Oraison Funebre, dicte par le Reverendissime Seigneur, l'evesque de Namur* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599). KBB VH 26.684 A; KBH, Knuttel 1064.
- *Sermon Funèbre faict par le reverme. Evesque de Namur, Messire Jacques Blaseus, aux funrerailles du trescatholique, treshault & trespuisant Prince & Monarque Philippe 2. Roy des Espaignes &c. Celebrez en Brusselles en l'Eglise de Ste. Goedele, le dernier jour de Decembre, de l'An 1598. En la presence du Sereme. Prince André Cardinal d'Austrice, Gouverneur des Pays bas, Cap. Gen. &c.* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599). KBH, Knuttel 1065.
- *Translat de la relation faite en langue espaignole par Le Reverend Pere Confesseur de feu le Roy Nostre Sire, de la forme de la derniere maladie & mort de sa dicte Ma[jes]té, decedee si pieusement, & Chrestiennement en son monastere Royal de*

- l'Escorial, le Dimenche XII. de Septembre, l'an M.D.XCVIII. S'adressant icelle relation au Roy Don Philippe des Espaignes, le III. de ce nom presentement regnant* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1599). KBH, Knuttel 1066.
- *De gheluckighe Incoemste des Hoochgeborene Coninghinne van Spaengien, Vrou Margarieta van Oostenrijck, in de vermaerde Stadt van Farrare. Met de Feestelijcke Ceremonien gheoeffent door onsen Heer Paus Clement de viij. in het heylige Houwelic haerder Majesteyt. Als ooc in des Hoochgeborenen Aertshertochs Albertus van Oostenrijck, met d'Infante Isabella Clara Eugenia, Suster des Catholijcken Conincx van Spaengien, Philippus de III. Beschreven door den Ridder Reale* (n.p., 1599; 'nae de Copye eerst ghedruckt te Ferraren [...] ende daer na herdruct te Venetien'). UBG, Tiele 428.
- *Brief Discours de voyage et entrees faictes par la Roynie d'Espagne en Italie, avecq les triumphes & pompes exhibees, tant en la ville de Ostia, Ferrare, Mantoue, Cremona, Milan, que es autres Bourgades & Villetes D'italie. Ensemble La relation du voyage faict par le Serenissime Archiducq D'austrice Albert en Allemaigne* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, n.d. [1599]). UBG, AM.
- *Waerachtige Historie vande Voyagien ende intreen geschiet door de Coninghinne van Spagnien in Italien, met allen de triumphen ende pomperyen die ghebeurt zyn soo inde stadt Ostia, Ferraren, Mantua, Cremonen, Milanen, als oock in andere cleyne steden ende vleden. Met noch een cort verhael vande reyse gedaen door den doorluchtichsten Eerstherloch van Oostenryck Albert naer Duytslant* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599). KBH, Knuttel 1081.
- *Brief discours ou relation touchant l'arrivement en Espagne de la Serenissime Roynie Marguerite d'Austrice. Avecq le solempnel recueil que luy fut faict par sa Majesté Catholique en la ville de Valence, Et les nopces celebrez en la grande Eglise de la dicte Ville* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599; 'Jouxte la Copie imprimée à Milan, au Palais Royal, Par Pandolfe Malatesta'). UBG, AM.
- *Corte Beschrijvinghe vande entree der doorluchtichsten Coninghinne Marguarita van Oostenrijck, binnen Valenchen. Met het heerlijk tractement ende tryumphe die door bevel vande Majesteyt van Spaegnien haren Bruydegom aenghedaen is gheweest. Midtsgaders oock de Ceremonien vande houwelijcken inde hooft-kercke der selver Stadt. Met een cort verhael van die heerlijcke entree gheschiet door mijn Heere den Prince van Orangien in syne Steden ende Heerlijcheden, den ii. Meert, Anno 1599* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599). KBH, Knuttel 1083.
- *Den Willecom en Gheluckighe vrolijke Incompste binnen t'Nederlant, van zijne Hoocheyt, des Deurluchtigen Eertshertoochs van Oostenrijck, van Bourgoingnien, van Brabant, &c. Met zijn Edele ende Hooch-geborene Vrouwe, t'Infante des Coninrijcken van Spaegnien* (Antwerp, Pauwels Stroobant, 1599). UBG, Tiele 455.
- 1600** *Cort Ende warachtich verhael vande incomste des Eertshartoch Albertus, met de Infante van Spaengien syn Huysvrouwe: ende hare Huldiginghe in diversche steden,*

- als Hertoghe ende Hertoghinne van Brabant, met andere sircumstantien. Met een Extract wt sekeren Brief gheschreven wt Antwerpen den 26. December lestleden* (n.p., 1600). KBH, Knuttel 1110.
- *De Triumphantelijcke Bly Incomste, Gheschiet binnen Antwerpen, van den Edelen, Doorluchtighen, ende Hoochgheboren Hertoghe Albertus, met de Edele Hoochgheboren Hertoghinne Isabella Clara Eugenia. Het welcke gheschiet is op den thien[den] dach van December Anno 1599* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1600). SBA, microfilm.
- *Warachtich Verhael vande Battaelgie ende Slach ghebeurt omtrint de stadt van Brugge, op Sondach den tweeden dach van Julius 1600. Soo tselve is gescreven van eenen Edelman van Brugge, aen eenen synen goeden vrint tot Bruessel* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1600). KBH, Knuttel 1136.
- *Waerachtigh Verhael vande Batalie ende Slagh ghebeurt omtrent de stadt van Brugghe, op Sondagh den tweeden dagh van Julius 1600. Zoo tselve is gheschreven van eenen Edelman, van Brugghe, aen eenen zynen goeden vriendt tot Bruessel. Eerst tot Brussel By Rutgeert Velpius, boeckverkooper, inden Gulden Arent, by het Hoff. 1600* (n.p.d.). KBH, Knuttel 1137.
- *La Flandre conservee, contenant un discours en forme de lettre. Des desseings et evenementz de l'Armée rebelle en l'Année* (Arras, Robert Maudhuy, 1600). UBG, AM.
- *Beclach ende doleancie vanden Pays, yegens die XVII. Provincien van het Nederlandt. Met verzouck van rappel van haeren onrechtverdighen ban, ende ghedoochsaemheynt van haer wedercompste binnen de selve Landen* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1600). KBH, Knuttel 1153.
- *Den Vredsamen Hollander. Inhoudende een waerschouwinghe aen de gene die noch in waepen syn* (n.p., 1600). KBH, Knuttel 1155.
- 1601 *A Trew Discourse of the Order Observed in the assemble & meeting made by the leave of the King at Fontainebleau: For the effectuating of the dispute agreed upon, betwixt the Lord Bishoppe of Evreux, and the Sr. of Plessis Mornay, upon the Thursday being the 4. of May Anno Domini 1600. In the presence of the Kinges Majestie, of many Prelates, Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and other persons of divers qualities; Concerning the falsehoodes which the aforesaid Lord of Evreux had marked in 500 places, cited by the aforesaid Sr. of Plessis in a booke which he lately made & imprinted against the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Translated out of French* (n.p., 1601).
- *Nyeu Jaer voor die van Hollant, etc. Dienende voor Antwoorde op zekere Reffereyn, onder naem van eenen droom aldaer vuytghegeven, ende met verscheyden schimpige figueren geprint tot Amsterdam, nopende de geschiedenis van Nyeupoort. Eensamentlijk een corte antwoorde op zekere vallsche historie, den Paters vanden Jesuiten naegheschreven* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1601). UBG, Tiele 474.

- *De Folle Entreprinse van Graef Mauris, ghemaect up Brugghe, Nieupoort &c. Met al de Admonitie daer toe ghebruyckt in t'velt anno 1600* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1601). KBB, LP 7382 A.
- *Brief et véritable discours de la mort d'aucuns vaillants et glorieux martyrs, lesquelz om à faict mourir en Angleterre pour la Foy & Religion Catholique, l'an passé de 1600* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1601).
- *Cort Ende waerachtich Verhael van het lijden van sommige vrome ende glorieuse Martelaers, die om de H. Catholijcke Religie in Enghelandt ghedoot zijn int voorleden Jaer van gratien, 1600. Ende desghelijcx oock in desen teghenzoordighen Jare 1601. Mitsgaders een Antwoordt int eynde, op eenighe lasterlijcke boecxkens ende printen van de Gheusen wtghegheven tegens onsen ghenadigen Heere den Eerts-Hertoghe Albertus, aengaende een wederdoopersse, onlancx buyten Bruessel ghejusticeert* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1601). UBG, Meul. 8825.
- *Warachtich Verhael van tgene datter ghebeurt is in Ingelant binnen Londen, nopende den aenslach vande Graven van Essex, Rutland ende Southamton, met haerlieder adherenten, tegen de Coninginne: Ende hoe zy ghevanghen syn ghewest, ende gheleyt inden Toren oft gevangenhuis van Londen. By maniere van Placcaet* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1601). KBH, Knuttel 1158.
- *Beschryvinghe van die Heerlycke victorie, die door Godts geheughen vercreghen hebben die Heeren D. George Basta, ende Michael Wayda, teghen Sigismondus Bathori den Transsylvaen, ende andere natien van Sevenburge, Hongersche, Moldaveren, Kesaken, Tartaren ende Turcken, den derden Augusti, 1601* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1601). KBH, Knuttel 1159.
- *Historie ende warachtich verhael ende beschryvinghe van het geluckich inne nemen der principaele Sterckten ende Stadt Stoelmeissemburch, diemen noempt "Alba Regalis", die welcke is gheweest 58. jaeren in handen vanden Goddeloosen ende bloetdorstighen vyant der Christenen, ende nu door een sonderlinghe gratie Godts is wederom ghecomen onder de Heerschappye der Keyserlycker Majesteyt, den twintichsten September, 1601. Overgheset wt het Hoochduyts in Nederlants* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1601; 'Naer de Copye ghedruckt tot Praghen'). KBH, Knuttel 1160.
- *Balade op de Belegeringhe Ende verlossinghe vande Stadt van t'sHertogen-bosche. Carmina duo chronographica* (n.p., 1601; 'Naer die Copye ghedruckt t'sHertogenbossche by Jan Scheffer'). KBH, Knuttel 1168.
- *Verhael van een T'samen-sprekinge, gehouden tusschen een Courtisan oft Hovelinck ende een Borgere, nopende den tegenwoirdighen staet van Nederlant* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1601). KBH, Knuttel 1170.
- *Warachtich Verhael van de clocke van Viliglia, een stadt gheleghen int Coninckryck van Arragon in Spaignien. Hoe dickmael de selve in dit Jaer 1601. van selffs, ende*

- sonder smenschen toedoen gheleyt heeft (Brussels, Rutgeert Velpius, 1601; 'naer een copye autentyck ghedruckt binnen Roomen'). KBH, Knuttel 1176.
- 1602** *Petrus Vladeraccus, Diarium sive brevis quaedam rerum per singulos dies in obsidione Silviducensi gestarum descriptio* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1602). UBG, AM.
- *Een seer Vremde, Miraculeuse, Vreeselijcke, ende waerachtighe Historie, gheschiedt binnen de stadt van Edam, gheleghen in Noort-hollant, den eersten sondach van den Vasten, des teghenwoordighen Jaers, 1602. Waer door de oneyndelijke macht Godts ende oock mede sijne onsprekelijke goedertierenheyt openbaerlijcken heeft ghebleken* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1602). KBH, Knuttel 1209.
- *Translaet van den Ban ende Placcaet. Vuytgegaen ende ghedecreteert by de Ertzhertogen, onse ghenadighe Princen, Teghens die Ghemuytineerde vant Casteel van Hoochstraten* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1602). UBG, Tiele 500; KBH, Knuttel 1200.
- 1603** *Verantwoordinge voor het Esquadron, Electo, ende Raet vande Crijchslieden tot Hoochstraten, teghen den onbehoorlicken ende ongheschikten Ban, tot nadeel vande voorsz. Crijchslieden in druck wtghegheven by hare Hoocheden* (n.p., 1603). UBG, AM.
- *Proclamatie, Ofte ordonantie van de Coninlijke Majesteyt van Engellant, waer in verclaert wert dat de Goederen die genomen zijn vande Ondersaten des Coninx van Spaengien sedert den 24. Aprilis lestleden: sullen werden gerestitueert aende eygenaers, ende die te vooren genomen zijn, werden verclaert goeden buyt, met verbot van nu voortaan te beschadigen eenighe die in Confederatie ende Vrientschap zijn met zijn Majesteyt. Wt d'enghelsch ghetrouwlijck overgheset in onse Nederduytsche spraecke* (Antwerp, Gheleyn Janssens, 1603; 'nae de Copie ghedruckt tot Londen door Robert Barcker'). KBH, Knuttel 1221.
- *Publication faite par Jacques Vlme. Roy d'Escosse presentement Roy d'Angleterre, France, et Yrlande. Par laquelle tous les Anglois & Yrlandois sont rappelez & deffenduz de faire guerre aux subjectz du Roy d'Espagne & des Pays-bas, a paine d'estre declairez Pirates & Escumeurs de Mer, & comme telz puniz. Publié a Londres au mois de Juing 1603* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1603; 'Jouxte la Copie imprimée a Londres, Chez Robert Barcker'). UBG, Meul. 8830.
- J.B. Vrints, *Vraye delineation de la ville d'Ostende, assiegee par le Serenis. Prince Albertus* (Antwerp, 1603) [copperplate engraving]. ASR 1153.
- 1604** *De Artijckelen van den Peys, ghemaect tusschen den zeer doorluchtighen Coninck van Engellant, Schotlant &c. ter eender zijde: Ende den alder Doorluchtichsten Coninck van Spangien, ende den Aerts-Hertoge ter ander: Gesonden wt Engellant den 25. Augusti Stylo Angliae, 1604* (n.p., 1604). KBH, Knuttel 1254.
- *Relacion de la Jornada del Excmo Condestable de Castilla, a las Pazes entre Hespaña y Inglaterra, que se concluyeron y iuraron en Londres, por el mes de Agosto, Año M. DC. IIII* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1604). KBB, LP 5557 A.

- *Chanson nouvelle de la rendition de la ville d'Ostende, Sur la voix, Quand viendra ce Roy d'Espagne* (n.p.d. [1604]). KBH, Knuttel 1282.
- *Ordonnance de leurs Altezes Ser[enissi]mes contenant plusieurs privileges, & exemptions pour ceulx qui presentement demeurent en la ville d'Oostende, naguaires reduite a lobeyssance de leursdictes Altezes & qui y voudront aller demourer, & sa faire bourgeois d'icelle Ville. Donn  en la Ville de Gand, le xxjme. d'Octobre, xvjC. & Quatre* (Ghent, Jan vanden Steene, 1604). KBH, Knuttel 1282a.
- 1605** *Waerachtich verhael Van de Reyse van den Ambassadeur van Engellant nae Spaignien, mitsgaders wet hem op de selve reyse wedervaren is: hoe hy in Spaignien is onthaelt geweest: ende wat Triumphen, Spelen, Verdoogen, ende Processten aldaer gheschiedt zijn, seer geneuchelijck om lesen. Ghemaect by een Engelsman die mede geweest is, in Engelsch, ende uyt het Engelsch overgheset in Duyts* (Antwerp, Anthoni Ballo, 1605). KBB, V 10204 A 7.
- *Verhael Van den staet der Overheerde Nederlantscher Provincien: Mitsgaders ghetrouwen ende heylsamen raet ean de zelve, om tot eenen goeden ende vasten Pays te geraken* (n.p., 1605). KBH, Knuttel 1299.
- *Oprechte ende waerachtighe afbeeldinghe, vande wonderlijcke victorie, vercreghen teghens de Rebellen van hunne Hoocheden, den xvij. Mey inden Jare 1605. op Blockers-Dijck. Pourtraict veritable & au vif, de la Joyeuse victoire acquise le 17. de May l'An 1605. par les gens de leurs Altezes aupres d'Anvers, sur le Blockers-Dijck contre les Rebelles de leursdictes Altezes* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1605) [copperplate engraving]. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
- *Carmen chronographicum. De inauguratione, ad ordinem equestrem aurei Velleris Illustrissi et Excellentissimi Marchionis Spinolae Ducis Sanseverini: Catholici Exercitus in Belgio Praefecti Generalis Felicissimi* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1605). PRO SP 121/93/1.
- 1607** *Waerachtighe Verhaelinghe, ghesonden van die Prelaten, Viceroy, groote Cancellier Secretaris, ender staten van Oost-Indien Aen de Catholijcke Majesteyt. Hoe dat de Mahometanen van Oost-indien hebben ontfanghen deur die bermherticheydt Godts van de Religieusen der Orden van Sinte Augustijn, aldaer ghesonden uyt de Conventen vant rijck van Portugael, het water des H. doopsels int jaer 1602* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1607; 'Naer de Copije ghedruckt te Roome door Guillaume Faciotto. Anno 1606'). KBH, Knuttel 1391.
- *Relation authentique envoyee par les Prelats, Viceroy, grands Chanceliers & Secretaires de l'Estat des Indes. A La Majeste Catholique. De ce qui s'est pass  avec les Mahometains Orientaux, qui par la misericorde & grace de nostre Dieu, & par le moyen des freres Religieux de l'ordre de S. Augustin du Royaume de Portugal, ont est  receus au S. Sacrement de Baptisme, l'an mil six cens & deux* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1607; 'Juxte la copie imprimee   Rome par Guillaume Facciot, l'an 1606'). UBG, AM.



- 1608 *Placcaet ende Ordinancie vande Eertzhertoghen onse ghenadighe Heeren ende Princen. Waerby wort ordre ghestelt, tot goede ende neerstighe onderhoudinghe van zekere poincten ende articulen, ghesloten ende ghearresteert in het Synode Provinciael van Mechelen, ghehouden inde maenden van Junius ende Julius, sesstien hondert seven* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1608). UBG.
- *De Blijde Incompste van den Marquis Spinola. Mitsgaders alle die andere Heeren in s'Gravenhaghe in Hollandt die gedeputeert zijn om den Peys te sluyten. Gheschreven wt het Hof van Hollant den 3. Febr. 1608* (Antwerp, Pauwels Stroobant, n.d. [1608]; 'Na de Copije ghedruckt tot Brugghe by Pieter Soetaert'). KBH, Knuttel 1515a.
- 1609 *Nieuwe ende Waerachtighe Historie van ses glorieuse martelaers die in Japonien voor het Catholijck gheloove ghedoot zijn in'tjaer 1604. Seer schoone ende bequame, om alle wanckelbare menschen in het Catholijck gheloove te verstercken. Overgheset uyt het Françoysche in Nederlandtsche, door Pater Ludovicus Makeblyde, Priester der Societeyt IESV* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1609). UBG, Meul 8861.
- *Coppe des Briefs Gheschreven vanden E. P. Nicolaes Trigault Priester der Societeyt IESV. Aenden E. P. Franciscum Fleron, Provinciael der selver Societeyt inde Nederlanden. Wt Goa in Oost-Indien op Kersmis-avond. 1607. Waer in verhaelt wort de vermeerderinghe des Christen gheloofs in Indien, Chinen, Iaponien, &c. Mitsgaders, Het belech van Mozambic, Malaca, Amboin, ende meer andere plaatsen, door de Hollantsche Vlote* (Antwerp, Daniel Vervliet, 1609). UBG, Meul 8860.
- *Triumphante ende Blijde Incomste binnen Antwerpen, vande Ambassadeurs, van wegen de Coninghen van Vranckrijck ende Enghelant. Opt stuck vande Vredehandel ofte lanck-duerich Bestant tusschen hare Hoocheden, ende de E. Heeren Staten Generael der vereenichde Nederlanden. Gheschiet den negensten February. 1609* (Antwerp, Anthoni Ballo, 1609). UBA, Pfl. Q 7. [UBG, Tiele 748: 'Na de Copije: t'Hantwerpen. By Anthoni Ballo']
- *Een cort verhael ende Afbeeldinghe vande heerlicke Triumphe ende vieringe die tot Antwerpen geschiet is over het af-lesen vanden Treve* (n.p. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven], 1609). SBA, K16588.
- *Een Factie oft Spel, openbaerlijc vanden Violieren binnen Antwerpen ghespeelt, tot verheuginge der Ghemeynten, door de blijde tijdinge des Bestandts. Gheordineert ende in dicht ghestelt door Peter de Herpener, ende ter begeerten van vele Heeren, goede Vrienden, ende Liefhebbers der Const ghedruct* (Antwerp, Gillis van Diest, n.d. [1609]). UBG.
- *Cort verhael van t'ghene is ghepresenteert gheweest in den Ommeganck die men tot Antwerpen ghehouden heeft op den xiiij. Junij Anno 1609. Noch wordt hier inne verhaelt alle de namen van de Personagien die in den Ommeganck gheweest hebben, met het Liedeken, het welck de Boeren songhen op den waghen* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1609). SBA, K16588.

- *Vercondinghe van het bestant* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1609]). PRO.
- *Plus Oultre. Byde Eertzhertogen* [proclamation forbidding controversies] (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1609). UBG, Tiele 788.
- 1610 *Placcaet vande Eertzhertoghen onse alderghenaedichsten Heeren ende Princen, verbiedende de scandaelen ende execitien die eenighe zoo hunne ondersaeten als andere, doen ende ghebruycken tot verachtinghe van onse Heylighe Catholijcke, Apostolijcke, Roomsche Religie* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius & Hubert Anthoon, 1610). UBG, Tiele 792.
- *Naerder verclaringe ende vermeerderinge vande Articlen des Bestants, mette interpretatien der selver, geacordeert ende ghesloten tusschen de Gecommitteerde vande Ertshertoghen, ende dit vande Staten Generael, vande vereenichde Provincien, inden Haghe in Hollandt, den zevensten Januarij 1610* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1610). KBH, Knuttel 1720.
- *Warachtich ende wonderlyck verhael, waer in verclaert wort, dat grouwelyck ver-raet, d'welck de Mooren int Coninck-ryck van Valencien, ende omliggende Landen, teghen de Christenen op gheleet hadden, met oock de aenslaghen die zy gemaect hebben metten Koninck van Argel op het inne-nemen van dat Koninck-ryck van Valencien, met noch meer ander Koninck-rycken: ende wat Wapenen zy daer toe verborghen hadden in eene Speloncke. Ende hoe dat t'selve is ontdeckt gheworden, door een Moorinne, de welcke om haer leelycke feyten veroordeelt was om levende ghebrant te worden. Overgheset uut het Spaens in Neder-duyts* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1610). KBH, Knuttel 1712.
- *Het verdragh, oft afhandlinghe tusschen de Roomse Keys. Ma. Heer Rudolphus de tweede, ende zyner Ma[jesty]ts Heer Broeder Koning Matthias, van Hongaryen door de naerbenoemde Keur-Vorsten, Eertzhertogen, Vorsten ende gesante Graven. Is in volgender gestaltenisse mit beyde zijds hare Key[serlyk]e ende Ko[ninklyk]e Ma[jesty]ten ratificatie versproken ende besloten geworden* (n.p., 1610). KBH, Knuttel 1709.
- 1611 *Cort verhael van alle de gedencweerdichste saecken dier geschiet zyn sedert den Jare 1500. tot het tegenwoordich Jaer ons Heeren 1611. Van nieus oversien ende vermeerdert* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1611). SBA, K104242.
- *Binarum literarum copia Regis Persiae ad Hispaniarum Regem* (Brussels, Joannes Reyns, 1611). Bod., Vet. M1c.3(25).
- *L'origine et présent estat de la secte Calvinienne, comme elle est maintenant devisée en quatre principales parties* (Antwerp, Robert Bruneau, 1611). UBG.
- *Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Carolo de Croy, Duci Croyaco et Arschotano, Principi Cimacensi & Porceanensi, Comiti Bellemontano, Seneghemensi, &c. Generali Financiarum Praefecto, optimo suo ac potentissimo Maecenati, magnificentissima in studiorum innovatione invenibus praemia distribuenti, hocce debita clientelae & honoris symbolum* L.K.D.C.Q. *Juventus Collegij Societatis IESV*

- Bruxellae 3. Octobris anno 1611* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius & Hubert Anthoon, n.d. [1611]). UBG, Meul 8875.
- *Lacrymae in obitum Catholicae ac potentissimae Hispaniarum Reginae Margaretae Austriacae. Collegium Societatis IESV Bruxellae Anno 1611. Oratio. Elegiae. Epigrammata. Hieroglyphica. Emblemata* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius & Hubert Anthoon, 1611). UBG, Meul 1256.
- 1612 *Relacion de las Honras que se celebraron a la muerte de la Catolica Magest[a]d Doña Margarita, Reyna de España, en la Capilla Real de los Seren[issi]mos Señores nuestros Archiduque Alberto, y Doña Ysabel, Clara Eugenia, Infante de España. A los treze de Diciembre de 1611. años* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius & Hubert Anthoon, 1612). KBB, V 9510.
- 1613 *Cort verhael Van alle de gedencweerdichste saken dier geschiet zijn sedert den Jare 1500. tot het tegenwoordich iaer ons Heeren 1613* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1613). SBA, K104242.
- *Motivum juris pro bibliopolis Antverpiensibus* (n.p.d. [1613]). SAA, GA 4574.
- *Nieuwe tijdinge ende warachtighe beschrijvinge, van een man die sijn eygen vrou met vier kinders seer jammerlicken vergeven heeft, ende sijn vrou naer dat sy vergeven was aen vier cartieren gehouwe ende soo in het sekreet gheworpen, ende met sijn eygen nichte anderhalf jaer lanc geboeleert, ende is daer na met sijn nichte binnen de stadt Greveling ghejusticeert, op den 15. November, 1613. Dese schrickelicke moordt is gheschiedt in een Dorp ghenamt Walbeeck, ontrent een ure gaens van Grevelingh in Vlaenderen, ende is ghedruct met consent der voorsz. Heeren* (n.p.d. [1613/14]; 'Na de Copye, Gedruct tot Antwerpen by Anthony de Ballo'). UBG, Meul 1339.
- 1614 *Cort verhael Van alle de gedencweerdichste saecken dier gheschiet zijn sedert den Jare 1500. tot het teghenwoordich iaer ons Heeren 1614* (Antwerp, Arnout Coninx, 1614). SBA, K104242.
- *Waerachtighe ende wonderlijke geschiedenisse van dry Weerwolven, die tussen S. Tomas ende Grevelingen in Vlaenderen wel tien Jaer geloopen hebben, ende wel Hondert twintich Menschen vermoort, ende tot Grevelinghen ghedoodt. den 2. Meert, 1614* (n.p., 1614; 'Na de Copye van S. Tomas, By Jan van Sottighem'). UBG, Meul 1361.
- 1615 *Waerachtich verhael van eenige merckelycke saecken des vermaerts Coninckrijk van Syna, door eenen Priester der Societeyt Jesu, Nederlander onlanx van daer ghecomen* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Anthonius Scheffer, 1615). KBH, Knuttel 2173.
- *Een warachtighe beschrijvinghe, van een jammerlijke moort die nu corteling geschiet is in vlaenderen binnen de stadt van S. Wijnnox Bergen van een broeder ende suster die met haer twee hebben vermoort haer vader ende moeder met noch vijf kinderen te weten dry knechtjens ende twee meyskens met haer dienstmaecht soo dat sy ghedaen hadden acht moorden het welcke noyt van al sulcke tyrannie*

- gehooft en is. Waer over sy sijn ghejusticeert opden 11. dach Meert 1615 (Flushing, anon., 1615; 'na de Copye van Brugghe'). UBG, Meul 1390.
- *Articulen vanden Peys, gemaect tusschen de Majesteyt vanden Coninck van Spaignien, ende den Doorluchtighen Hertoghe van Savoyen, op den 21. Junij 1615. Overgheset vuyt het Italiaens int Duyts* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1615). UBG, Meul 1391.
- Maximilian de Vignacourt, *Pro Eutrapelia serijs interpositâ per serenissimam principem Isabellam Claram Eugeniam, Regiam ex Hispania progeniem, Archiducem Austriae, Principem ditionum Belgicae inferioris. Apologia* (Leuven, Gerard Rivius, 1615). KBB, Knuttel 2174.
- 1616 Jean Baptiste Auxstruies, *Almanach ou Journal, pour l'An Bisextil de nostre Seigneur M.DC.XVI* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1616). SBA, K104242.
- Jean Baptiste Auxstruies, *Prognostication pour l'An Bisextil de nostre Seigneur M.DC.XVI* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1616). SBA, K104242.
- *Histoires Plus memorables tant anciennes que nouvelles, contenant choses advenues de l'An 1500 jusques à la presente Annee M.DC.XVI* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1616). SBA, K104242.
- *Een warachtighe beschrijvinghe van twee nieuwe Propheten, die gekomen ende ghevanghen sijn binnen de Stadt van Luyc: Den 8. December. Alwaer Sy wel acht daghen hebben deur de stadt in alle de straten prekende ende leerende, de Menschen tot Boete ende Bekeeringhe van haer zondigh leven: Haer woorden ende Prophecijen ende uytleggingen die sy teghen de Menschen hebben verklaert, staen hier altemael in dit Boecxken verhaelt, voor alle Menschen om te hooren oft te lesen* (Liège, Leonard Streel, 1616). UBG, Meul 1426.
- *Coppie d'une lettre envoyee d'Angleterre au Seminaire des Anglois à Douay* (Douai, Pierre Auroy, 1616).
- *Ordonnantie ende Placcaet vande Eertshertogen onse Souvereine Princen Hertogen van Brabant, &c. Ghemaeckt op het stuck van het drucken, vercoopen ende inbrenghe van verscheyden soorten van Boecken, Refereynen ende Beelden, in de Landen van herwaertsovere* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1616). UBG, Meul. 1417.
- *Een nieuw waerachtighe tydinghe de welcke geschiet is binnen de Stadt van Delft, van de quade wijfs, alwaer sy eenen oproer hebben ghemaeckt, en[de] gherebelleert tegen de Magistraet, ende met steenen gheworpen* (Brussels, Mommaert, n.d. [1616]; 'Eerst gedruet in Zeelant, daer naer T'hantwerpen by Abraham Verhoeven'). UBG, Meul 1420.
- *Verclaringhe vanden Coninck van d'Apprehentie gedaen op den Persoon van mijn Heere den Prince van Condé ende opt absenteren van andere Princen, Heeren ende Edelmans. Ghepubliceert int Parlement den Coninck daer present zijnde, den vij. September 1616* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1616]). KBB, LP II 90930 A.

- 1617 *Nieuwe Cronycke Van alle de gedenckweerdichste saecken dier gheschiet sijn sedert den Jare 1500. tot desen teghenwoordighen Jare ons Heeren 1617* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1617). SBA, K104242.
- *Waerachtich verhael van de[n] Oploop, twist ende tweedracht gheschiedt tot Amsterdam in Hollant, hoe datse daer nu tegen malcanderen opstaen, de oude Geusen teghen de nieuwe Geusen, ende hebben malcanderen verjaecht, de Calvinisten teghen de Armenianen, gheschiet den xix Februarii 1617. Noch hoe ende in wat manieren de Oude Geusen den predikant hebben gheslaghen van de Arminianen oft nieuwe Geusen, ende een Coopmanshuys berooft op de Singel, naest den Dolphijn, daer de nieuwe Geusen meynden te comen Preken. Ende noch soo daer dry huysen op den selven nacht zijn afgebrant tot Amsterdam, waer mede de stadt in Allarm was* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1617). MPM.
- *Beclach-reden over die van Hollant ende Seelant. Overmidts den Onvrede ende grooten twist, daerse nu in leven, niet tegen-staende den vredelijcken Trevis, diese met haeren Coninck, ende Hertoghe van Brabant, &c. sijn hebbende. Ghemaect door een Boodts-man van't Oude Schipken van S. Peeter* (n.p. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven], 1617). MPM.
- *Beschrijvinghe van de Belegheringhe gheleydt voor de stadt van Rethel, door Monsieur den hertoch van Guise, Generaelen Luytenant van de Conincklijke Armeyen van Vranckrijck. Belegkert t'sedert donderdach den 16. Meert 1617 waerover t'voetvolck is met het gheschut in de voorstadt ende daer hun Tenten gheslaghen* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1617). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *De Bekeeringhe van Sieur Mestayer onlangs Predicant van Lusignan gheschiedt in de stadt van Poitiers. Hebbet de voeten gheschoeyt met bereydinghe van 't Evangelium des vredes. Ephes. 6. vers. 15. Aen mijn Heeren van de Provinciale Vergaderinghe tot Thouars by een gheroepen den 4. April laestleden* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1617). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Verhael van t'principaelste datter nu onlanckx gheschiedt is, soo wel hier te Lande als Italien, vranckrijck en Duytslant. Noch hoe den Courier van Antwerpen op Parijs is ghevangen gheweest van s'Princen-volck ende ghevangen gebrocht binnen Noyons* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1617). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Waerachtich verhael ende Afbeeldinghe, hoe ende in wat manieren Monsieur Marquis d'Ancre Mareschal de france is doot gheschoten smaendachs smorghens tusschen neghen ende thien uren binnen parijs den xxiiij April 1617* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1617]). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- 1618 *Blanca o loteria general, que se instituye en la villa de Brusselas para el establecimiento del Monte de Piedad por todas las villas de sus Altezas Sermas por Matthias Micheli, Gentilhombre Luquez Superintendente de la conduita de la dicha Blanca* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1618). KBB.

- Mathias Micheli, *Abrege de la conduite et ordre qui sera tenu es Blancques & Lotheries generales, erigees en cette Ville de Bruxelles, en vertu d'Octroy de leurs AA SS. pour estre les deniers a proceder employez a telz oeuvres pieuses & de Charité qu'elles trouveront convenir* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1618). ARB.
- Mathias Micheli, *Cort verhael vande beleydinge ende ordre dier gehouden sal worden inde Ryckelijcke ende generale Lotherijen opgherecht binnen der Stadt van Brussel* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1618). ARB.
- *Waerachtich verhael hoe dat zijn Excellentie Graeff Maurits van Nassouwen, etc. Is ghecome wt de stadt van Utrecht, met wagens en[de] Bogagie, smendachs den 13. Augusti 1618. Naer de stadt van Leyden in Hollandt, meynende in de stadt te comen. Ende die van Leyden zijn compste vernomen hebbende, hebben over alle de Valbrugghen daer ontrent de passagie opghetrocken, ende de stadtspoorten voor hem gesloten, soo dat hy moesten wederom, met zijn Edelen, Waghens ende Bogagie te rugge keeren, ende nam zijnen wech ter zijden aff naer den Haghe* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1618). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Waerachtich Verhael, van de Oorloghe in Duytslandt, tegen de Staten der Boheemsche, ende der Stadt van Praga, de welcke Rebelleren teghen zijn Keyserlijcke Majesteyt* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1618). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- 1619 *A Briefe Relation of the Persecution lately made against the Catholike Christians, in the Kingdome of Japonia, Divided into two Bookes. Taken out of the Annuall Letters of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and other Authentick Informations. Written in Spanish, translated by W.W. (n.p. [St Omer, English College press], 1619; 'printed first at Mexico').* Bod., Crynes 290.
- *Cort verhael vanden gheweldigen slach tegen de[n] Turck gheschiedt, ende hoe dat den Primo Visier, Cappiteyn Generael vanden grooten Turck is ghecome met 200 000 mannen int Coninckrijck va[n] Persien, tot by de stadt Taurus, alwaer den Coninck van Persien hem heeft verwacht by Ardevil met 100 000 mannen, ende de[n] Persiaen heeft den Turck geslagen, als volcht* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Verhael hoe dat in Hollant binnen de stadt Leyden, de Arminianen zijn vergaert geweest in een Huys om te preken, op den xxi. April 1619 Waer over de Gommaristen met het Grau zijn ghecome, ende hebben de Predicatie verstorrdt, het Huys berooft, ende geplundert, ende den Predicant is int water ghespronghen. Noch met het verhael vant Placcaet ghepubliceert binnen Rotterdam, teghen d'Arminiaenen, als volcht* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619).
- *Sommier Verhael van de wreede handelinghe der Bloed-dorstighe Calvinisten, ghepleeght teghen de Remonstranten buyten Rotterdam, op Sondach voorleden den XX. October. 1619* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619).
- *Sommier Verhael van de wreede handelinghe der Bloed-dorstighe Calvinisten, ghepleeght teghen de Remonstranten buyten Rotterdam, op Sondach voorleden*

- den XX. October. 1619. Mitsgaders, vande groote Tierannije ende grouwelijcke Wreetheden, die in meer andere omliggende steden, van dese Suyvere Ghepredestineerde Broeders bedreven zijn (2nd ed., Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619). Bod., 4° Y 129 Jur.
- *Een Cluchtich Verhael, van eenen Gepredestineerden Cappuyn. Midts-gaders eenighe Vonnissen in dicht, die daer over zijn ghegheven* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Principaelste punten die in Hollandt tot Dort, in die Synode ghetrackteert worden, ghestelt in Rijme, tot confusie van die selve Synode. Seer ghenoechlick om te Lesen, Gemaect door een Liefhebber der C.A.R.R.* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1619). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Den Gepredestineerden Dief, ofte een T'amen-sprekinge [sic] ghehouden tuschen een Predicant der Calvinus-ghesinde, ende een die, die ghesententieert was om te sterven. Waer in levendigh wert voor ooghen ghestelt, niet alleen hoe de Leere der Contraremonstranten ofte Calvinisten, in haer selven den mensche een voet ende oorsake geeft om Godlooselijck te leven ende daer in te vol herden, maer oock hoe de selve ten hooghsten hinderlicken is, om den sondaer tot de ware boetvaerdigheyt en berouw sijnder sonden te brenghen* (n.p. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, attrib. Knuttel, I, p. 569], 1619). KBH, Knuttel 2978.
- *Declaratie ende decret van haere doorluchtichste hoocheden Op de Requeste van die vande Natien der Stadt van Brussele* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1619). KBH, Knuttel 2805; UBG, AM.
- 1620** *Verre-kijcker ofte Secrete Fransch-Engelsch-Hollandtsche Instructie ghegheven aen Fredericus de Vyfde Paltz-grave aen den Rhijn, ende Keurvorst. Overgheset uyt het Latijn, ende nu tot het ghemeye beste in't licht ghebracht* (n.p., 1620). KBH, Knuttel 3037.
- *Sendbrief Marquis Spinolae An die Königliche Mayestät in Hispanien: Und dann Deß Königs in Hispanien Instruction unnd Antwort, Darinnen dem Spinolae, als deß Spanischen Kriegsvolcks General Feldobristen, in etlichen Punkten fürgezeigt wird, auff was Weiß und Wege er die grosse un[d] mächtige in den Niederlanden jeso außgerüste Kriegs Armada in Teutschland führen, unnd die ChurPfälzische Erbland Sequestrations weiß ein-nehmen solle* (Brussels, anon., 1620). KBH, Knuttel 3046.
- *Vrijmoedigh Ondersoeck van verscheyden Placcaten, inde Gheunieerde Provincien, binnen twee jaeren herwaerts, gepubliceert teghen de Christenen ingeborenen ende inwoonders der selver Landen diemen Remonstranten noemt. Dienende mede tot Justificatie vande selve Remonstranten, ende in eenighe poincten van wijlen den Heer Advocaet Johan van Oldenbarnevelt Zal: ende de ghevanghenen Heeren Rombout Hogherbeetz ende Hugo de Groot* (Vryburch, Adelaert Waermont [false address, n.p.], 1620). KBH, Knuttel 3100; UBG.

- *Redenen Waerom die Inwoonders van Valtellina hebben de Wapenen aengenomen teghen die Calvinische Grisons: ende Cort Relaes vanden voortghanck des Orloghe aldaer* (n.p., 1620). UBG.
- *Jus haereditarium & legitima Successio in Regno Bohemiae, Ferdinandi II. Austriaci. Nunc Imperatoris Augusti, et Hungariae Bohemiaeque Regis potentissimi, atque Invictissimi* (Antwerp, Joannes Cnobbaert, 1620). Bod., Vet. M 1 c.3(55).
- *Relation de la forme en laquelle a este donnee la bataille de la ville de Prague, et de quelques particularitez qui l'ont ensuivy* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1620). KBB, II 21425 A / c.
- *Continuation et confirmation des nouvelles de la deffaicte de l'armee du Conte Palatine en Boheme avec aucunes aultres choses remarquables* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoine, 1620). PRO SP 121/32.
- 1621 *Nieuwe Cronycke Van alle de gedenckweerdichste saecken dier gheschiet sijn sedert den Jare 1500. tot desen teghenwoordighen Jare ons Heeren 1621* (Antwerp, Anthoni de Ballo, 1621). SBA, K104242.
- *Epinicium ad Duces Caesarianos Fortissimos recuperata Praga* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1620). Bod., Vet. M 1 c.3(49); UBG, AM.
- *Vray & naturel pourtraict ou Figure de tout ce que s'est passé, en la derniere sanglante & Generalle Bataille, faicte proce de la Ville de Prage, au nom de sa Majesté Imperiale pas son Alteze le Ducq de Baviere, contre l'Armee Bohemoise, ensemble aussi de tout ce qu'est advenu auparavant & depuis des le 28. d'Octobre jusques au dix-iesme jour du mois de Novembre, stilo novo, de l'An 1620. Imprimée Nouvellement le 3. de mois de Mars 1621* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1621). CBL, uncatalogued.
- *Emblematische Beschrijvinghe, van den Edelen Oostenrijckschen Stam, oft Loffelijcke Huys van Oostenrijck* (n.p.d. [1621]). ARB, DSS 79.
- Aubertus Miraeus, *De Bello Bohemico Ferdinandi II. Caesaris auspiciis feliciter gesto commentarius Ex quo seditiosissimum Calvinianae sectae genium, & praesentem Europae statum licet agnoscere* (Brussels, Johan Pepermans, n.d. [1621]). KBH, Knuttel 3146.
- *Nouvelles dernièrement arrivees par l'ordinaire. Ensemble la Bataille et victoire Obtenue par l'armee Royale (de laquelle est General Don Frederic de Toledo) au destroict, avec neuf Navires de sa charge, contre vingt & six des Hollandois venants du Levant. Avec les particularitez d'icelle bataille, & de ce qui s'est passé à Cadix* (n.p., 1621; 'Traduict de l'Espagnol imprimé avec licence à Seville 1621'). KBH, Knuttel 3244.
- Michael Coignet, *Tabula geographica indicans iter novum inter Mediolanum et Antverpiam* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1621). CBL, uncatalogued.
- *Claere Af-beeldinghe van het groot Wijn-vadt tot Heydelberch, dat den Pfaltz-Graeff heeft doen maken* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1621) ARB, DSS 79.



- *Ghetrouwe ende rycke loterië die opgerecht wort inde princelijcke stadt van Brussel wt crachte van octroy van hunne Alderdoorluchtichste Hoocheden, tot oprechtinghe van een ducht-huys binnen der seluer stadt. Elck loth tot eene gulden van xx. stuyvers Brabants* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1621). KBB, LP 86o6 A (microfilm LP 3716).
- Amator Pietatis [pseud.], *Apologia Ofte Bescherm-redenen teghen het kekelen van de onredelijcke vyanden, ende oock tegenraeders, van de Berghen van Bermherticheyt. Mitsgaeders Vertooch aen de redelijcke personen, aengaende de voorghenomde Berghen, onlanckx opgerecht in die Nederlantsche Prouincien, onder de gehoorsaemheyt van haere Doorluchtichste Hoogheden. Door den Heer Wenceslaus Coberger, Raed ende opperste Architect van haere Doorluchtichste Hoogheden, ende Superintendent generael van die voorgeschreven Berghen. In vermaeckelijcke dicht gestelt door Amator Pietatis* (Mechelen, Henry Jaye, 1621). UBG.
- *Observations Concerning the Present Affaires of Holland and the United Provinces, made by an English Gentleman there lately Resident & since Written by Himselfe from Paris* (n.p. [St Omer, English College press], 1621).
- [Richard Verstegan], *Londons Looking-glasse. Or the Copy of a Letter Written by an English Travayler to the Apprentices of London* (n.p. [St Omer, English College press], 1621).
- [sheet torn] ... *belegherde* ... [S. Jan] *d'Angely, beleghert door den Co [ninck van Fr] anck-rijck, teghen zijne Rebellen, ... [Hugen]otten die daer binnen zijn. ...[d]atter in den Legher ghepasseert is, ... den 28. Mey tot noch toe. 1621* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1621]) [copperplate engraving]. KU Leuven.
- 1622** *Hier wat wonder wat nieuws, van de Ghereformeerde Brandstichterye van de Geusen. Ghediscoureert In een Herberghe onder wegghen Mechelen ende Leuven. Tusschen Claes de Claegher, eenen Boer, ende Rombout Rond-wt eenen Borgher. Ghedediceert aen alle de Wereldt* (n.p. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven], 1622). KBB.
- *Anatomie van Calviniste calumnien getoont in eenen dialogus oft t'samenspreecken tussen eenen Brabander ende eenen Hollander* (n.p. [Antwerp, Willem Lesteens], 1622).
- *Newes from the Low-Countreyes. Or the Anatomy of Calvinisticall Calumnies, Manifested in a Dialogue betweene a Brabander and a Hollander* (n.p. [St Omer, English College], 1622).
- *Waerachtich Verhael Ende Breeder Relaes van het Royael Wtvaert, Alberti, Eertzhertoghe van Oostenrijck, Hertogh van Brabant, Graeve van Vlaenderen, Hollandt, &c. Ghedaen binnen Brussel den 12. Meert 1622. Noch hoe dat allen de Groote Heeren ende Princen, in Ordre ghinghen, ende wat sy droeghen, waer aff den Sone vanden Overleden cloecken Heldt Grave van Bucquoy, den Hellem droech van zijne Doorluchtige Hoocheyt, &c.* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1622). KBB.

- *Waerachtich verhael van t'ghene ghepasseert is inde Victorie vercreghen by zijne Conincklijke Majesteyt van Vranckrijck int Eylant van Riay [...]* Gheschiet den 16. April 1622 (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1622). MPM.
- *Oprecht Verhael van allen t'ghene ghepasseert is met de Conincklijke Zee Armade van Spagnien, te weten, van de Schepen van Oostende ende Duynkercken teghen de Hollanders ende Zeelanders schepen, van den beghinne aff tot nu toe. Hoe ende in wat manieren sy dickwils teghen malcanderen gheslaghen hebben* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, [July] 1622). KBB.
- *Veritable description du siege de Berghes sur Zoom, ensemble la situation tant de la ville et sa forteresse que celles du Marquis de Spinola* (Lille, Christophe Beys, 1622). PRO SP 121/35.
- *Recit veritable de tout ce qui s'est passé au departement & separation de l'assemblée des Estatz, qu'on dict le Parlement au Royaume d'Angleterre* (n.p.d. [1622]; 'Jouxté la copie Imprimée A Anvers par Abraham Verhoeven'). BNP, Nc 3507.
- *T'samencoutinghe tusschen eenen Hollandtschen Coopman, ende eenen Antwerpschen Makelaer Ghenaempt Jan Pieter Aerdtzen, ende Joos de Liecht, Makelaer* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1622).
- 1623** *Sacrae Caes. Majest. Propositio in Conventu Electorum ac Principum S. R. Imperij ac legatorum facta Ratisbonae die 7. Januarij, Anni 1623* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1623). Bod., Vet. M1 c.3(69).
- *Epistola Ferdinandi II. Imperatoris ad Iacobum Magnæ Britanniae regem data Ratisbonæ, die 5. Martij, an. 1623* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1623). Bod., Vet. M1 c.3(71).
- *A Tounq-combat Lately Happening between Two English Soldiers, in the Tilt-boat of Gravesend. The One Going to Serve the King of Spayn, the Other to Serve the States of Holland* (n.p. [Mechelen, Henry Jaye], 1623).
- *Redenen van Marcus Antonius de Dominis. Aerts-bisschop van Spalaten, Ghegheven Over zijn wedercompste wt Enghelandt naer de H. Roomsche Kercke* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d., 'Naer de Coppije van Romae, ex Typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicae M.DC.XXIII'). KBH, Knuttel 3497A.
- *Nouvelles trescertaines des grands presens faictz en Espagne, au Prince d'Angleterre, de la part de sa Majesté Catholique que Dieu garde* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1623). KBB, LP II 90930 A.
- *Den tweeden Droom, van Jan Josepsen vanden Gheest van Reynier van Oudenbarneveldt. Ghedruckt, In een van de zeventhien Nederlanden, Door de Pers, en de Letteren, en de Druckers handen* (n.p.d. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1623]). UBG, Meul. 1878.
- 1624** *Pieter Bleckemerie, Almanach ende Prognosticatie vanden Schrickel-Jaere M.DC.XXIII. Ghemaect ende beschreven opden Meridiaen der vermaerde Stede van Ghent* (Ghent, Jan vanden Steene, 1624). UBG.

- *Nieuwe chronijcke oft Verhael van alle de gedenckweerdichste saken die geschiet zijn, t'sedert den Jare 1500 tot desen tegenwoordigen Jare 1624* (Antwerp, Godtgaf Verhulst, 1624). UBG.
- *Cort verhael, hoe datter hondert ende achthien, seer treffelijcke Martelaren, voor het Catholijck geloove gestorven zijn in Japonien, principalijck getrocken uyt de brieven vande Paters der Societeyt IESV die hen in t'voorsz. Rijck zijn houdende, ende oock uyt het verhael van vele Iaponoisien die den twelfsten Augusti 1623 op twee schepen te Manila in Indien zijn aengecomen. Overgeset uyt het Spaensch, ghedruckt te Madril met privilegie in t'jaer 1624* (n.p.d. [1624?]). UBG, Meul. 9019
- *Hollantsche Slavernij van Egypten. Ghetoot in een t'samen-spreken te Spa in't landt van Luyck, tusschen eenen Brabander ende eenen Hollander* (n.p., 1624; 'Te Neuwtrael-stadt, By Steven Stercken-arme'). KBB, Knuttel 3544.
- Juan de Orejon, *Curiosa y agradable Relaçion de la enterpresa que trujo el enemigo al Castillo de Amberes, à los 13. de Otubre deste presente anno, con las formas y medelos de los instrumentos que se dejaron, y otras particularidades, y de gusto* (Antwerp, Petrus & Joannes Bellerus, 1624). KBB, LP 4352 A [facsimile].
- *Oprechte afbeeldinge vanden gefaelgeerden Aenslach die den vyant onder het ghebedt vanden Gouverneur van Berghen op Zoom heeft meynen wt te rechten teghens het Casteel van Antwerpen den xij. Octobris 1624* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1624]). KU Leuven.
- *Cort verhael, hoe datter hondert ende achthien, seer treffelijcke Martelaren, voor het Catholijck geloove gestorven zijn in Iaponien, principalijck getrocken uyt de brieven vande Paters der Societeyt Jesu die hen in t'voorsz. Rijck zijn houdende, ende oock uyt het verhael van vele Iaponoisien die den twelfsten Augusti 1623 op twee schepen te Manila in Indien zijn aengecomen* (n.p.d.; 'Overgeset uyt het Spaensch, ghedruckt te Madril met Privilegie in t'jaer 1624'). UBG, Tiele 9019.
- 1625 *Een verhael Op de groote Belegeringe van de Stadt van Breda, Door den grooten Koningh ende Monarch van Spaignien, ende Isabella Clara Eugenia Infante van Spaignien, Gouvernant van dese Landen, Onder het beleydt van sijne Excellentie de Marquis Spinola. Doe de Stant van Hollandt de geheele Werelt, en oock de Hell deurloopen ende in roer ghestelt hebben, om eenen grooten machtigen Leger te vergaderen, ende Breda te ontsetten. Gestelt in Rijme Seer genoeghlijck om lesen, gemaect door een Liefhebber* (n.p., 1625). UBG, Meul. 1945.
- *Lof-dicht op de groote victorie Ghecreghen door Philippvs Den grooten Coninck ende Monarch van Spagnien in Brasylien Italien Ende het veroveren der Stadt Breda Ghestelt in Rijme Seer ghenoechlijck om lesen, ghemaect door een Liefhebber* (Antwerp, Godtgaf Verhulst, 1625). UBG, Meul. 9029.
- *Den droom van Jan Josepsen corts naer de Doot van Iacobus Coninck van Enghelandt, &c. Ende Mauritius Prince van Orangien* (n.p. [Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven], 1625). UBG, Meul. 9032.

- *Ordonnantie ons heeren des Conincx. Inhoudende verbodt vanden Coophandel mette gherebelleerde Provincien* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1625). KBH, Knuttel 3585.
- *L'Heureux progrez des Armes Imperialles soubz la conduite de son Excellence Monsieur de Tilly, par le deffaicte de dix mille tant soldats que paisans, des rebelles du Roy de Denemarck, Brunswick, dit Halberstadt, que de Mansfeldt. Ensemble l'intention de sa Majesté Catholique secondee par la vigilance de la Serenissime Princesse Archiducesse de Brabant &c. pour eriger une Admirauté a Dunkercke, affin de retenir & chastier les Hollandois & Zelandois par mer* (Lille, Christophe Beys, 1625).
- *Articles de Breda, ou Accord des Bourgeois, avec le sortiment, & grande amonition trouvée dedans la mesme ville, & se rendit avec appointement a sa Royale Majesté d'Espagne le 5 de Juing, 1625* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1625]). PRO SP 121/36/2.
- 1626 *Tranen over de doot vanden Eerwaardighen, Vromen, Hoogh-gheleerden Heere Rombout Hoogherbeets. In sijn leven ghewesen Doctor der beyde Rechten, eerste Raedt in den Hooghen Raedt, ende Pensionaris der Stede Leyden, van sijn Louvesteynsche ghevangenisse ghebrocht op't huys Ter Weer, ende aldaer Godtvruchtelijck in den Heer ontslapen, den vij. September 1625* (n.p., 1626). KBH, Knuttel 3706.
- *Placcaet ons heeren des conincx op het feyt van de correspondentien mette vyanden ende rebellen* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1626). UBG, Tiele 2129; KBH, Knuttel 3658.
- *Proposten tusschen twee Posten malcanderen rescontrerende in Vlaenderen. Aengaende een Placcaet onder den naem vanden Coninck van Enghelandt Ghepubliceert, teghens den Coninck van Spagnien* (n.p., 1626). KBH, Knuttel 3648a.
- *Placcaet Ons Heeren des Conincx. Op het feyt van de correspondentien mette vyanden ende rebellen* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1626).
- *Recit veritable de L'Entiere Des-route Du Roy de Dannemarc par Monsieur le Comte de Thilly envoyées aux Ambassadeurs d'Allemagne en Bruxelles le vingt-septiesme jour d'Aoust l'An 1626* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, n.d. [1626]). KBB, microfilm Imp. E 10(5).
- *Relation Veritable de la Grande Victoire Obtenue par son Excelence le Comte de Tilly* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1626). KBB, microfilm Imp. E 10(5).
- 1627 *Jean Franco, Kalendrier ou Journal pour l'An de nostre Seigneur M.DC.XXVII* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1627). KBB.
- *Propositie Gedaen aen de Staten van Braband door Don Diego van Mexia* (n.p.d. [1627]). UBG, Meul 2014.
- 1628 *Unitas Fortis ab Exc. D. Marchione de Leganés Provinciis Belgicis Fidelibus Philippi IV. Hispaniar. Regis Potentiss. nomine proposita Anno M.DC.XXVII*, ed. Jean-Jacques Chifflet (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1628). UBG, Meul 2015.

- *Sterck-water, getrocken uyt de Crokodyls Tranen des wee-klagers* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Jan Janszoon Scheffer, 1628). KBH, Knuttel 3837a.
- 1629 *Kort Begrip van het ghene dat gheschreven wordt door de Patres van de Societeyt JESV, met brieven van den Jaere M.DC.XXVII. Aengaende de Koninckrijcken van Japonien* (Antwerp, Hendrick Aertssens, 1629; 'Naer de Copije, ghedruckt in't Spaensch tot Madrid By Andries Parra'). UBG, Meul 9048.
- *Laudatio Gratulatoria in sacram inaugurationem Admodum Rdi. & Amplissimi Domini, D. Ioannis Chrysotomi Vander Sterre Antverpiae ad S. Michaelis* (Antwerp, Gerard Wolschat, 1629). UBG, AM.
- 1630 *Tooneel vande Moedigheydt van vier Predicanten binnen s'Hertoghen-bosch. Ende Cloeckveerdicheyt van twee Catholijcke Proffessoren binnen Lueven. Aengaende een openbare Wt-daginghe om op het stuck van 'twarachtich gheloove een 'tsamen-spreekinghe ende oprecht ondersoeck te doen* (Brussels, Jan Pepermans, 1630). KBH, Knuttel 4106.
- 1631 *Capitula pacis et foederis inter serenissimos Philippum IV Hispaniarum, et Carolum Magnae Britanniae Reges. M.DC.XXX.* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon, 1631). KBH, Knuttel 3978b.
- *Traité de la paix et confederation, faicte l'an M. DC. XXX. entre les Serenissimes Philippe IV, Roy des Espagnes et Charles roy de la Grande Bretagne* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1631). ARB, DSS 81.
- *Le Manifeste de Monsieur, M. Frere du Roy, ou l'on voira sa Iustification, avec Celle de la Reyne Mere, contre le Cardinal de Richelieu* (n.p.d.; manifesto dated Mons, 18 Aug. 1631). KBB, VB 9744 A (C).
- 1632 *Copie de la Lettre que son Ex[cellent]ce le Comte Henry de Bergh, Maistre du Camp General de sa Majesté, a escript à S. Alt. Seren. sur le subject de ses miscontenemens & resolutions pour le bien du Pais* (n.p.d.; letter dated Liège, 18 June 1632). KBH, Knuttel 4217.
- *Copie vanden Brief die sijn Excellentie Grave Hendrick vanden Berge, Generael Velt-Heervan sijne Majesteyt, geschreven heeft aen hare Doorluchtichste Hoocheydt, op het subject van sijne discontentementen ende resolutien, tot des Lants diensten* (n.p.d.; letter dated Liège, 18 June 1632). KBH, Knuttel 4220.
- *Advis aux Estats des Provinces du pays bas, fidelles et obeysantes à Sa Majesté, sur les lettres escrites de Liege le 18. de Juin, 1632, par le Comte Henry de Bergh. A son Altesse Serenissime, et auxdicts Estats: et sur la Declaration par luy faicte de ses mescontenemens* (n.p. [Mechelen? Henry Jaye?], 1632). KBH, Knuttel 4224.
- *Waerschouwinghe aen de Staten der Ghetrouwe ende Ghehoorsame Provincien van Nederlandt. Nopende de brieven van graef Hendrick van den Bergh, gheschreven uyt Luyck den 18. Junius, anno 1632. aen Hare Doorlucht. Hoocheyt, ende de voorsz. Staten. Oock nopende de Verclaringhe door den selven Grave ghedaen,*

- van weghe sijne misnoeghinghen* (n.p. [Mechelen?, Henry Jaye?], 1632). KBB, V10204 A 7; KBH, Knuttel 4225; UBG, Tiele 2480.
- *Advys Aen de Staten der ghetrouwe, ende aen syne Majesteyts ghehoorsame Nederlandtsche Provintien, op de Brieven den 18. Junij 1632 by Graef Hendric vanden Berge uyt Luyck gheschreven aen de Doorluchtighste Infante, ende aen de voorghemelde Staten: mitsgaders op de Verclaringe by hem ghedaen van zyn misnoeghen* (n.p. [Amsterdam], François Lieshout, 1632; 'eerst tot Mechelen'). KBH, Knuttel 4228.
- *Verklaringhe Vande Staten van Luyck, over de Brieven van Graeff Heyndrick vanden Berghe* (n.p., 1632; 'Nae de Copie, Ghedruckt tot Luyck, by Christiaen Buwerx'). KBH, Knuttel 4229.
- *Lettres de la Serenissime Infante et d'autres, touchant les actions du Comte Henry de Bergh* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1632). KBH, Knuttel 4232.
- *Lettres Patentes de sa Majesté, contenant l'adjournement et exploit de Comte Henry de Bergh. Avec la relation faicte par Mathias Bollaert Huissier d'armes au grand Conseil du Roy* (n.p., 1632; 'Juxte la Copie de Malines'). KBH, Knuttel 4234.
- *Lettres de la Serenissime Infante, tant aux deputez des trois estatz du Pays de Liege, qu'aux Burguemaistres et Conseil, et aux Eschevins de la Cité* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1632). KBH, Knuttel 4235a.
- *Advis des marchands de la Bourse d'Anvers a ceux de la Place de Paris et du Change de Lyon* (n.p., 1632). UBG, Meul 2186.
- *Waerschouwinge Van een Fransman van qualiteyt, Aen Myne Heeren de Borgheren vande Edele Stadt van Luyck. Teghens het Vertoogh aen haer ghedaen door den Baron van Bilhé ende Vierlet. Translaet uyt den Franschen* (n.p., 1632; 'Na de Copie, Ghedruckt tot Antwerpen'). UBG, Tiele 2485.
- *Remonstrantie, By den Grave van Warfusé Hooft van des Conings Financien, aen Hare Hoogheyt de Serenissime Infante gedaen, Aengaende De rechtveerdighe oorsaecken ende redenen van syn vertreck uyt de Stadt Brussel*, trans. Daniel Bredan, notary public (Amsterdam, François Lieshout, 1632; 'Eerst tot Luyck'; letter dated Liège, 21 July). UBG, Tiele 2486.
- *Bartelemy de Guret, La Flandre fidelle ou discours politique sur la revolte du comte Henry de Bergh* (n.p., 1632). UBG, AM.
- *Recit veritable et particulier de la Bataille de Lutzen, et Victoire obtenue par l'armee de sa Majesté Imperiale, sur celle du Roy de Suede. Le 16. jour de Novembre. 1632* (Brussels, Widow Antoine, 1632). UBG, AM.
- *Extraict ou copie d'une lettre escrete du sergeant major du regiment du Sr Coronel Comargo, à son Pere. de Bennitz, le 19. de Novembre. 1632* (Brussels, Widow Antoine, 1632). UBG, AM.

- 1633 Petrus Potoccius, *Ad invictissimum Potentissimumque Principem Vladislaum Sigismundum Poloniae et Sueciae Regem Oratorio Gratulatoria* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1633). Bod., AA 87 (5) Art.
- Szymon Starowolski, *Panegyricus Serenissimo atque Potentissimo Principi Vladislao Sigismundo, ob virtutem omnium votis acclamato Polonorum regi, ob jura hereditatis legitimo suecorum monarchae, ob regiam indolem electo magno moscorum duci, ob adnatam felicitatem bellicosissimorum in aquilone populorum gothorum, vandalorum, atque sarmatarum imperatori, inclyto, pio, felici, augusto, bono orbis christiani nato, consecratus* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1633). Bod., AA 87 (6) Art.
- *Nouvelle carte de S. Stevens-weert ses fortifications* (Brussels, Jean Leonard, 1633). UBG, R1515/46.
- Aenmerckingen van Religie en Staet, *Op d'uyt-schrijvinghe van't ghebodt, vanden al-ghemeen Bid-dagh, ende Vast-dagh, bevolen ende in-ghestelt door die Rebelle Staten op den 24. deser tegenwoordighe maendt Oogst 1633. Waer door men by provisie sal moge[n] sien, hoe groot onghelick dat den vyant heeft, van ons eenige over-tredinghe vande handelinghe van Trefves toe te schrijven, aenghesien hy dien selfs leelijck heeft gheschent, op hope, van door ghewelt van wapenen de Catholijcke Religie, ende sijne Majesteyts saecken, in dese Nederlanden onder de voet te brengen. Voor-ghehouden Aen alle Catholijcke ghetrouwe Ingheseten* (n.p., 1633). UBG, Tiele 2513.
- *Theologorum Lovaniensem Judicium de vi obligandi conscientias, quam habent Edicta suae Majestatis de re monetaria* (Leuven, Joannes Oliverius, 1633). KBH, Knuttel 4292.
- *Facultatis Theologicae Duacensis Judicium de vi obligandi quam habent Catholicae Majestatis edicta de re monetaria* (Douai, Petrus Telu, 1633). KBH, Knuttel 4293.
- *Propositions faites a l'Infante, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas, Par un grand Ingenieur, servant le Marquis de Sainte Croix au secours de Maestric. Lequel met en avant plusieurs choses dignes d'admiration, pour pouvoir conserver son Pais avec peu de forces, & attaquer celuy de l'ennemy avec peu de frais: Et promet de faire reprendre dans six mois Bosleduc, Wesel, & Maestric* (n.p., 1633; 'Jouxt la coppie Imprimée à Bruxelles'). KBH, Knuttel 4295.
- *Copie de Lettre du Duc de Fritlant escrite a l'Empereur, du Camp a Steinauw. Le 12. d'Octobre, 1633. Avec Les heureuses succes de l'armée du Duc de Feria, jointe à celle du Comte de Aleringer. Extraitz des lettres escrites de la Franche conté de Bourgogne, du 29. Octobre 1633* (Brussels, Godfroy Schoevaerts, 1633). KBB, II 21425 A / e.
- *Copie de lettre a Monsieur le Conte Gallas Maistre de Camp General de sa Majesté Imperiale. Du camp de l'Empereur devant Steinbruck, le 12 d'Octobre 1633* (Brussels, Godfrey Schoevaerts, 1633). PRO SP 121/38.

- 1634 Erycius Puteanus, *Idea Heroica, principis unius omnium optimae Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae vita et morte in exemplum delineata. Adjuncta est Balthasaris Nardi ejusdem argumenti Epistola* (Leuven, Joannes Oliverius & Cornelius Coenestenius, 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4333.
- Franciscus Capronius, *Laudatio funebris in laudem Serenissimae Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae, Hispaniarum Infantis, Archid. Austriae, Belgarum Principis* (Leuven, Philip Dormalius, 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4334.
- Antonius D'Ave, *Oratio In obitum & gloriosissimam memoriam Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae, Hispaniarum Infantis, Archiducis Austriae, Belgarum Principis &c. In insigni aede Collegiata D. Petri Lovanij die 12. Martij 1634. cum Facultas Artium ei debita justa solemniter persolveret* (Leuven, Franciscus Simons, 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4335.
- *Coppe vande Sententie Ghegheven teghen den Grave Hendrick vanden Berge* (n.p., 1634; 'nae de originele Coppe tot Mechelen'). Knuttel 4336.
- *Copie vande Brief Van Sijne Koninghlijke Majesteyt van Spagnien, gheschreven aende Heeren Staten Ghenerael van sijne gehoorsame Provintien, nopende de vergaderinghe tot Brussel op den Handel van Treves: mitsgaders Om wat oorsaecke den Hertoch van Aerschot met sijn byhebbende Swijte tot Madrid in apprehentie is ghenomen* (Brussels, Hubrecht Anthoon Velpius, n.d. [1634]). KBH, Knuttel 4338; UBG, Meul 2290.
- *Extrait d'une lettre du lieutenant Mareschal de Camp Baron de Gelain, escrite au Coronel et Baron de Vehlen. Le vingtquatriesme d'Avril, 1634* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1634). ARB, DSS 81.
- C. Van Essen, *Waerom? Daerom: ende Waerheyt tot de Hollandtsche Vrede-haters* (Antwerp, Philips Michielsen, 1634). UBG, Meul 2298.
- *Cort verhael vande Rebellie ende doot van Walsteyn ghetrocken wt diversche Brieven Geschreven wt Weenen, Franckfort, Braunau ende andere Steden van Duytslant* (Brussels, Govaerd Schoevaerds, n.d. [1634]). UBG, Meul 2272.
- *Friedlands Verradery Ontdeckt* (Brussels, Lucas Meerbeek, 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4328.
- *Conjuratio Fridlandica detecta* (Brussels, Lucas Meerbeek, 1634). Bod.
- *Copie van't Placcaet van Sijne Keyserl. Majesteyt, waer in hare Majest. doet vermanen aen alle Standen vant H. Roomschen Rijck, hoe dat Sijne Majesteyt is geneghen tot een Christelijcke Vrede des Rijckx, ende deur wat middelen de t'samentlijke Vyanden moeten wederstaen worden. Gegeven in onse Stadt Weenen den xxx. Augusti, 1634* (n.p., 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4329.
- *Relation envoyee du camp devant Nordlingen, de la grande et signalee victoire, quil a pleu a Dieu de donner aux armées Imperiale, et Catholique, contre celles des Protestans, et autres ennemis de L'empire. les cinq et sixieme Jours de Septembre de la presente année M.DC.XXXIV.* (Brussels, Widow Velpius, 1634). UBG, Meul 9084.



- *Confirmation nouvelle de la grande victoire de Nordlingen, et des Circonstances et particularitez d'icelle, tant par les lettres du Roy de Hongrie à l'Archiduchesse de Tirol, vefue de l'Archiduc Leopold; que par celles d'un Aumonier du Duc de Lorraine, tesmoin oculaire de ce qui s'y est passé. Ensemble differents advis du Comté de Bourgogne, de Cologne, & de Francfort, touchant l'estat de plusieurs affaires d'Allemagne, depuis laditte victoire* (Brussels, Widow Velpius, 1634). UBG.
- *Abrege de la grande Victoire, obtenue sur les Suedois, Pres la ville de Nortlinghem le 6. du mois de Septembre 1634, selon le rapport qui en a esté fait au Prince Electeur de Mayence, dans la ville de Cologne six jours apres la bataille, par Christophe Henry de Grishein son Amman, qui fortuitement s'est trouvé present pour lors en l'armée Suedoise* (Brussels, Widow Hubert Anthoine, 1634). KBB, II 21425 A / f.
- *De Gheheel Neerlaghe van Rynggrave Otho, ende alle syne trouppen in Alsacien, gheconfirmeert door diversche advisen van verscheyde quartieren, oock mede den geluckighen voort-ganck vande Catholycke legers tegen die Protestanten ende hunne geallieerde: met noch eenighe andere advisen* (Brussels, Widow Velpius, 1634). UBG, Meul. 2274.
- *Cort verhael vande Triumphante incomste des Prince Cardinael Infant, inde Stadt Brussel, den 4. November 1634. Als mede van sijn gheluckighe reyse ende treffelijcke Victorien die hy ghehadt heeft voor Nortlinghen* (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, n.d. [1634]). KBH, Knuttel 4342.
- *Chronographica Gratulatio in Felicissimum Adventum Serenissimi Cardinalis Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Infantis a Collegio Soc. IESV Bruxellae Publico Belgarum Gaudio Exhibita* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1634). KBH, Knuttel 4343.
- 1635** *In Funere Elisabethae a Lotharingia Bavariae Ducis Oratio Odoardi Courtnei Angli e Societate Iesv habita Leodii in templo Collegij Anglicani eiusdem Societatis* (Liège, Leonard Streels, 1635). Bod.
- *Serenissimo Ferdinando Hispaniarum Infanti S. R. E. Cardinali pro Philippo IV. Belgicae et Burgundiae Gubernatori Militiae Regiae Archistratego Gandae Vota* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1635). Bod., BB 96(6) Art.
- *Excellentissimo Francisco de Moncada Aytonae Marchioni Regnorum Aragoniae magno seneschalco Philippo IV. Regi Catholico a consiliis status eiusque militiae in Belgica Gubernatori Ganda* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1635). Bod., BB 96(7) Art.
- Christopher Chamberlin, *Virtutum et musarum Triumphus Serenissimo Principi Ferdinando Austriaco, Hispaniarum Infanti, S. R. E. Cardinali, Belgicae gubernaculum faeliciter suscipienti* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBH, Knuttel 4380.
- *Relation de la surprinse de la ville de Treves, par la direction de Monsieur le Comte d'Emdem, Gouverneur du Duché et Pays de Luxembourg, Arrivé le 26. de Mars 1635. sur les trois heures du matin. Escrite dudict Luxembourg le dernier dudict mois* (Douai, Widow Wyon, 1635). UBG, Meul 2303.

- *Declaration de son Alteze touchant la guerre contre la couronne de France* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon-Velpius, 1635). UBG, Meul 2313.
- *Verklaringe Van Sijne Hoogheydt, Aengaende Den Oorloghe Teghen de Kroone van Vranckrijck* (n.p., 1635; 'Naer de Copye, tot Brussel, By de Weduwe van Hubrecht Antonis Velpius'). KBH, Knuttel 4360.
- *Antwoorde van een goet Ondersaet des Catholycken Conings, Op de Verclaeringhen, uytgegeven by den Coningh van Vranckrijck, Aengaende den Oorlogh by hem uytgeroepen teghen de Croone van Spanjen, in de Maend Jujni, deses loopende Jaers M.D.XXXV.* (Antwerp, anon., 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4363.
- *Copie des arrests rendus au grand Conseil de sa Majesté le 2. de May 1635 contre le Prince d'Espinoy, & Charles de Pienne* (n.p., 'Jouxte la Copie Imprimé à Malines', 1635; dated 2 May 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4381.
- *Copije vande Vonnissen ghegeven inden grooten Raedt van sijne Majesteyt den tweeden May 1635 teghens den Prince van Espinoy ende Charles de Pienne* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4382.
- *Exploits de la Flotte Royale de Dunkerke, soub la sage conduite de Gaverelle Chevalier de l'ordre de Christus, Conseillier du Roy aux Conseils supreme de Flandres, & de l'Admirauté en Espagne; & au Conseil Privé de sa Majesté au Pays bas. Avec les visions de Hollande, presages apparants de leur ruyne future* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon-Velpius, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4383; KBB, II 5060 A (56).
- *Den Hollantschen Iarv en de Fransche krauwey* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (1).
- *De wonder-voorzeyde Victorie der Hollanders ende Francoysen Beschreven in twee Maenden door den Onvervalschten Italiaenschen Waer-zeggher: Op het Iaer M.DC.XXXV. Ghepractiseert door den Hoogh-geleerden D. Antonio Magino, Professor Mathematicus der Stadt Bolonia in Lombardyen* (n.p..d [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (2).
- *Afbeeldinghe Van den courtoisen Franschen ende ghenadighen Broeders-aert. Gheschildert Met het onnoosel bloedt der Borghers van Thienen. Midtsgaders een Trompette verweckende alle Nederlanders ende vrome Catholijcken, om goedt ende bloedt te waghen voor hun Gheloof ende Vaderlant. Ghedruckt tot Weenen, by Hendrick van Thienen in de Bloedt-straet* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (3).
- *Relation Triste et Veritable des Cruautez et Tyrannies que les Deux Armees Hollandoise, & François ont faict dans la Ville de Tillemont le 9. de Iuin 1635. Sur le chant: De Leandre* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (4).
- *Een droevigh beklagh van een Thiensche Maeght Over die Tiranny van de Fransoisen ende Hollanders, Alle hun schelmstukken verhalende met bloedighe tranen. Ghedruckt door het bestier, van swerten inck en wit pampier* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (5).
- *Waerachtigh verhael vande belegheringhe van Loven Gheschiet door de Hollanders en Franchoyzen in't Iaer ons Heeren 1635. Met andere Notabele Dinghen van hen,*

- t'samen ghevoeght, voor ende naer uytgherecht* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens, 1635 'den 3. Augusti'). KBB, II 5060 A (6).
- *Triomphe Voor de Maeght van Loven* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (7).
- *Den Hollantschen Willecom. Waerachtichlyck uytleggende hoe aengenaem het aen de Hoochmoedighe Heeren Staten generael is, dat hunnen Prince van Oraignien, niet langer in Brabant gebleven en is* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (8).
- *Die lustighe Kaus opt hooft. Beheesende d'oprechte verclaeringe van alle groote Schatten ende Buyten, vercregen byden Prince van Oraignien met zijne Fransche Hollanders, inde vermeende oueringe van het Lant van Brabandt, Vlaenderen, &c. Gedrukt inden Haeghe, by Peeter Iansen Broers, gesworen Drucker vande Hoochmogende Heeren Staeten* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (9).
- *Geus-Francen Haes-op voor de Maeghdelijcke Stadt Loven Den derden Julio seshien hondert vyf-en-dertigh. Lovens Maeghdom heel en gans, Was noch niet voor Geus oft Frans. Gront-reden Van t'Geusen vertreck van de gheleerde Stadt Loven* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (10); UBG, AM.
- *Geus-Franschen Haes-op voor Loven. Den 3. Julius 1635. Lovens Maeghdom heel en gans, Was noch niet voor Geus of Frans* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBH, Knuttel 4387.
- *Die Blavwe Scheen Die ghestooten heeft den Prince van Oranien in sijne vryagie van Brabant etc. Gedrukt tot Amsterdam op het hoecxken vande Creupel straet, by manck Joosken, gheswooren Drucker vande quade tydinghen int Jaer 1635* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (11).
- *Versoeck vanden Prince van Oraignien aende Doctooen Vande vermaerde Vniversiteyt van Louen, om aldaer Doctoer te passeren ende hoe het selue hem aldaer is ghewyghert* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (12).
- *Rym-dicht ter Eeren die Maeght Loven. Waer inne verhaelt wordt alle het ghene datter ghepasseert is t'zedert het Jaer 1542. tot het Jaer 1635. aengaende die troubelen aldaer gheschiet* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, n.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (13).
- *Een nieu Liedeken, Van het Beleggh der Stadt van Loven, Op die Wijse, Vreest menschen opder aerden die liggen in sonden subijt* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (14).
- *Den ombyt van Loven. Ofte Van de belegeringe der Stadt van Loven, door den Hollandtschen ende Franschen Legher. Van den vier-en-twintighsten Iunij, tot den vierden Iulij, van het Iaer ons Heeren seshien-hondert vijf-en-dertigh. Den vierden druck, verbeteret* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (15).
- *Het Geusen-geschreeuw Behelsende hoe de Gommaristen, Mennisten ende Arminianen hebben gheroepen over die groote Victorie, ende hoe sy hebben ghemuyckt over die kleyn glorie dit jaer in Brabant verkregghen. Hoe sy onder hun ghediscoureert hebben over den staet van't Landt. Den tweeden druck verbeteret ende vermeerdert* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (16).

- *Den Prins van Orangie beclaecht hem dat hy soo qualijck in Brabant heeft geleefd, ende dat hy soo schandelijck de maechdelijcke stadt van Loven heeft moeten verlaten* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (17).
- *Obsidionis Lovaniensis anno 1635. Duplo ab exercitu Francis Batavisque viribus institutæ compendiosa enarratio* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesius, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4385a.
- Nicolaus Vernulaeus, *Triumphus Lovaniensium ob solutam urbis suæ obsidionem, per recessum duorum potentissimorum Exercituum, Christianissimi Franciæ Regis, & Foederatorum Belgij Ordinum* (Leuven, Philip Dormalius & Jacobus Zegers, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4385b.
- Nicolaus Vernulaeus, *Oratio ad studiosam juventem Cum Calend. Augusti 1635 post solutam Urbis Lovaniensis obsidionem Studia resumerentur* (Leuven, Jacobus Zegers, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4385c.
- *Waerachtighe Cope, door eenen getrouwen Vrient achter-haelt, van eenen Brief, van de Heeren Staten Generael, ghezonden aen den Prince van Oraigne. Ghedateert den 23. Julij 1635* (Brussels, Widow Mommaert, n.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (18).
- *Nieu Liedeken Waer in betoont wort, dat boven al het Ontset van Loven Godt moet toegeschreven worden. Op de Wyse, Ick lagh en Fanteseerden, &c.* (Leuven, Widow Hastens, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (20).
- *Den Brill op de neus vereert aenden Prince Cardinael dienende voor alle gesicht. Gedruet in het huys, daermen sonder Brill siet* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (21).
- *Het sorghvuldigh wieghen ende t'ghedurigh paeyen van t'kindeken in de wiegh Door sommige goethertighe Brabanders in't heymelijcke ende eenighe bermher-toghe Hollanders in't publicke Comedien ghespeelt. Hoe de selve door't overvloedigh wieghen ende t'menighvuldigh paeyen, hebben ghemaect dat het niet en is moghelijck om in slaep te krijghen* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (22).
- *Declaration de son Alteze Touchant la Guerre contre la Couronne de France* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (23).
- *Een nieuw Liedeken hoe de Soldaeten van Ghelder hebben inghenomen de onwin-nelijcke Schencke-Schans onder het beleydt van den kloecken Krijghsman den Luytenant Eynholst van den Graef van Emden, met ses hondert Vier-roers den 27. Julij smorghens ten 3. uren, 1635. Op de wijze: Guilielmus van Nassouwe, &c. Een nieu Liedeken Kluchtighe Vrijagie oft t'samenspaecke van de groote boosheydt der Fransoysen bedreven in Nederlandt. Op de wijze: Oraignen weent nu niet, &c. Tusschen Reynaert den Vos ende die Maeght van Loven, nopende het beleghe der selver Stadt, Anno 1635. Op de wijze: Jan de Nivelles. Oft, Lest gingh ick my ver-maecken* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (24).
- *La Plus Particvliere Relation de la Prise du Fort de Schencke, Sur les Hollandois. Le progés de l'armée Catolique en Gueldres, soub l'heureuse conduite de l'Infant Cardinal: des armées Imperiales soub celle du Roy de Hongrie. Et l'expiration de la*

- treve entre les Royaumes de Polongne & de Suede* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (25).
- *Alder-hande soorten van Hollansche ende Fransche Nevsen Van vrempe ghedaelen. Ghedruckt ter Neusen, ontrent Bier-vliet by Nasianzenus Snuyttaert* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (26).
- *Het Frans ende Hollants Verkeer-spel Vytleghende hoe de cans verdrayt is in het spel d'welck onlanckx begost is by den Fransman ende Hollander. Ghedruckt in den Swygher, by den Hollantschen crygher, Als was verspelt, het Hollandts gelt* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (27).
- *Nouvelles de plusieurs endroits de l'Europe, venues a Bruxelles, depuis le 18. jusques au 23. de Juillet 1635. avec une nouvelle deffaicte des François en Lorraine; & la copie d'une lettre interceptée, du Gouverneur de Colmar en Alsace* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (28).
- *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyden quartieren van Europa, ghekomen tot Brussel Tzedert den 18. tot den 23 Julii 1635. Met een nieuwe neerlaghe die de Fransoyzen ghehadt hebben in Loreynen; mitsgaders noch een Cope van eenen opgehouden Brief van den Gouverneur van Colmar in Alsacien* (Brussels, Widow Mommaert, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (19).
- *Chanson Nouvelle sur l'assiegement de Lovvain. Attenté par le Prince d'Orange & le Marquis de Chastillon Marechal de la France, & le Marquis de Hus, le 24. de Iuin 1635. & deliassée le 4. de Juillet. Sur le chant, La Roynie d'Angleterre, &c. ou bien, Diogenes le sage. Chanson Nouvelle Composée durant l'assiegement de la fameuse & florissante Vniversité de Lovvain. Sur le chant, Je m'en va demain. Complainte Du Prince d'Orange sur sa retraite de Louvain: Sur la voix du Pastorale* (n.p.d. [Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, 1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (29).
- *Den Hollantschen ende Franschen Bitebav. Twee Leghers in Brabant onlanckx met grauws verschenen, Maer door de Spaensche zon zijn sy subit verdwenen* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (30).
- *Balet des Francois et Hollandois en Brabant* (Paris, anon. [vere: Brussels, Widow Anthoon], 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (31).
- *De hane-vlucht ende haere gherectighe straffe. Ende 't noyt-ghehoorde-Nieuws, hoe den Haen met den Vos ghepaert is, tot groot verderf van de trouwe Nederlanden. Die altesamen door het aanzien alleen van den Arent ghevluucht zijn, eeuwige schande ende oneer achterlaetende* (Brussels, Anthoni Mercans, n.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (32).
- *Lettre de sa Maiesté Imperiale a Son Agent a Rome, contenant les raisons pour lesquelles il a fait la paix avec Le Duc de Saxe M.DC.XXV* (Brussels, Jean Pepermans, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (33).
- *De Vette Schencken Die welcke den Prince Cardinael ghevonden heeft Buyten het maegher huys d'welck de Staten van Holland dit jaer ghebouwt hebben. Den tweeden*

- druck vermeerdert ende verbeteret door M.B. Ghedruckt in den Franschen dans, In het Fort van de Schinc-schans* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (34).
- *Het droevich, en mistroostich beclach van de seer verblijde Brabanders; over het subijt afscheydt: oft onverwachten; maer wel ghewensten Adiev van hunnen liefstaligen, gefalleerden Hertogh Den onversichtigen Prins Henderick van Oraignie. Ante victoriam encomium canis. Ghy roept Harinck eer hy int net is* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (35).
- *Het Hooge Vlieghe end t'leeghe dalen van Icarvs Is te verghelijcken by het roemigh voornemen van den Coninck van Vranckrijck, met de Heeren Staten van Hollandt* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (36).
- *Het vluchten van den Prince van Orangien met de Hollantsche Ondersaten, voor d'aensicht des Prince van Spagnien, met de Keyzersche Croaten. Gedruet buyten Amsterdam, In den Haen al sonder kam* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (37).
- *Responce d'un Bon Vassal du Roy Catholique aux Manifestes pbliez par le Roy de France Touchant la Guerre par luy declarée contre la Couronne d'Espagne, au mois de Iuin de la presente année* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (38).
- *Corte ende waerachtighe beschrijvinghe van het Fort van Schencken-Schans, hoe die door een secreten aenslach van des Conincks volck inghenomen is den 28. Julij 1635* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens, n.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (39).
- *Den Rollewagen van den Prince van Orangien. Die een ander veracht, Seer qualijck bedacht / En noemt te wesen een kint, / Men siet uyt sijn kecken, weert om te begecken / Want hy het selfsste bedient. Voorts hebby hier noch particulariteyt van Schencke-Schans. Gedruet buyten s'graven-Haegen, Int Schans by den Rollenwaghen* (n.p.d. [1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (40).
- *Den Ghefalierten Wisselbrief vande Philippynen getrocken op Schenke-Schans, Den 28. Iulij, &c. Geret, Peter, en Handrick* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (41).
- *Die Neus-wijsche Nijptangh Van Cattvs ende Gallvs twee dieren versaemt. Hollantschen en Fransoischen Legher genaemt. Het is ghemist En t'ghelt verquist* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (42).
- *La Deffaite de Plusieurs Troupes Francoises en Lorraine, Duché de Luxembourg, Comtez de Namur & de Flandres. Avec quelques advis du Camp du Roy Catholique, & d'autres endroicts* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, August 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (43).
- *De lange logen Tongh van Pier Noot-man met eeren ghecort door den Heer Advocaet van Thienen, aengaende Den Geus-Franschen Haes-op Ghestelt door den Advocaet, ende Den Oraignien-Lelie-Blijf-faem Ghebasuynt door Pier Noot-mans* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (44).
- *De grausaem straf over't hertoghdome van Brabandt voor-seydt door den Propheet Ioel De welcke den Heere, door soo veele traensuchtige gebeden, in soo menige inghestelde Biddaghen, vanden selve lande heeft af-genomen; hun victorie ende den Vrede toeseggende, als t'vast op hem betrouwt* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (45).

- *Relation veritable des hauts faites d'armes des Mareschaux de France Chastillon & Brezé en la conquête du Pays Brabant és mois de Iuin, & Iuillet 1635. Le Songe dv Flamand, ou est insere vn petit discovr de la Fvrie Francoise et de la Retraite Espagnolle. Auec le Catalogue d'aucuns Liures nouveaux, traittans d'affaires d'estat, qui se vendront à la prochaine Foire de Francfort. Le tout fort plaisant & recreatif. On les vend à Paris, sur le pont neuf* (n.p.d. [Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635]). KBB, II 5060 A (46).
- *Het krijten ende lachen van Brabant Over het lachen ende krijten van Hollant* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (47).
- *Inventaire des pieces produictes par le substitud du Procureur General des Estats et Provinces du Pays Bas Obeissantes et Fideles a Sa Majeste Catholique par devant Messieurs du Prive Conseil sur l'oposition par luy formee a l'execution du partage desdicts provinces fait entre le Roy de France d'une part et les Estats des Proviunces Rebelles d'autre. Imprime au bureau d'adresse à Paris* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (48).
- *Den Dans vande Schencke-Schans die de Crauwatten dansen inde Betuwe. Gedruet tot Amsterdam, by Iooris Iansens inde Stadt van Utrecht* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (49).
- *Copie des lettres des Sieurs d'Espanan, de Charnacé, Reaup & Talon, Escrites depuis Paris au Cardinal de la Vallette & autres Officiers de son armée, le 24. & 25. du mois de Iuillet, 1635. Interceptées par le Sieur Maillart Gouverneur de la Ville de Zirck sur la Moselle* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (50).
- *T'saemen-spraeck tusschen Die Maert ende Die Vrouw over haer gestolen koeyen inde Betuwe. Gedruet in de Stadt daer de kans verkeert is* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (51).
- *Den Geusen Requiem. Ghedruet voor Louen, onder den blauwen Hemel, inden Haes-op* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (52).
- *Die Triumph van den Lovenschen willecom. Waer toe gheroepen worden allen die omliggende Steden, om al-hier Godt te loven ende te dancken van het weldaet d'welck hy ons bethoont heeft door het voorbidden van de H. Maeghet Maria* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (53).
- *T'saemenspraekinghe tusschen den Borgher van Amsterdam ende den Boer uyt de Betuwe. Hoe sy hun beklaeghen over die groote lasten die sy moeten draeghen, t'sedert het overgaen van de Schencke-Schans. Met twee royen is hy weerddigh geslaeghen. Die zijnen wettighen Koningh niet en wilt verdraegen. Ghedruet in den grooten Niet Dobbelt betaelen is sijn bediet* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (54).
- *De Schat-kist der langh verborghen Renten, id est, d'Ondeught van Oraignen die komt nu als een presente in den schoot van Spaignen. In manier van t'samenkoutinghe vergadert tusschen eenen Hollander ende Prins hendrick van Oraignen. Alias den Brandt-stichter* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (55); UBG, Meul. 9089.

- *Corte ende oprechte vermaeninghe vanden Eerweerd. Heer Petrus Cudsemius Doctoer inde Heylighe Godtheyt, Raets-heer van haere Keyserlycke Majesteyt. Coor-Bisschop ende oudt Canonick van het Eerw. Collegie S. Gereonis binnen Colen. Ghesonden tot die Doorluchtighe, Edele ende Voorsinnighe Heeren Staeten der Vereenichde Provincien: op dat door den wille Godts, Onder Het ghelukich Nederlandts Gouvernement van Ferdinandus, Infant van Spaignien, Erts-Hertoch van Oostenrijck, &c. Ten lesten gheschiede den ghewenschten Peys, eynde van d'oorloghe* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, 1635). KBH, Knuttel 4393.
- *Advis au Roy des Romains, Maximilien Premier, Donn   l'an 1491. par Messire Olivier de la Marche, Chevalier, Consiller & premier Maistre d'Hostel de l'Archiduc Philippe. Touchant la maniere qu'on doibt comporter    l'occasion de rupture avec la France. Tir   du Cabinet d'un curieux    l'occurrence presente* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (57).
- *Den Nederlantschen Phaeton Duc d'Alencon, Lowys de Bourbon Met den Prince van Oraingien. Hoe sy hebben willen sitten inden waeghen Van Spaignien, hebben in blaecken en branden Gestelt onse Nederlanden* (n.p.d.). KBB, II 5060 A (58).
- *Fama Posthuma Francorum Hollandorumque protervitas* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 5060 A (59).
- *Coppe vande Vredens-articulen Ghemaect binnen Praghe, door De Keyserlijcke Majesteyt: ende Ceurvorstelijcke Doorluchtigheyt van Saxen, etc. Anno 1635. 20/30 Mey. Ghetranslateert uyt de Hooghduytsche Copije: ghedruckt tot Praeghe, door ordre ende bevel vande Keyserlijcke Majesteyt* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, 1635). UBG, Tiele 2304.
- *Copie de la Lettre Royale ou Manifeste du Roy de Pologne, envoyee aux Estats du Royaume de Swede* (Lille, Pierre de Rache, 1635). BNP, M12636.
- *Copie de la lettre royale ou manifeste du roy, de Pologne envoyee aux estats du Royaume de Swede. Jouxte la copie imprime en haut Allemand* (Brussels, Jean Pepermans, n.d. [1635]). PRO.
- *Nouvelles du camp du Serenissime Prince Cardinal touchant le Secours d'Allemagne, La paix entre l'Empereur & le Duc Electeur de Saxe, & l'estat present de nos arm  es. En datte du 17. Juin, 1635* (n.p.d. [1635]; Jouxte la Copie Imprim  e    Louvain'). UBG, Tiele 2311.
- *Les Articles d'alliances et de partage entre le Roy de France d'une part, et les estats des provinces rebelles d'autre, contractez le 8. Febvrier, ratifiez & signez Louys le 8. de Mars en suivant de l'an 1635.    la ruine & bourleversement des Provinces Obeysantes & fides au Roy Catholique* (n.p., 1635).
- *Manifeste pour la justice des armes de la tres-auguste maison D'Austriche: ensemble la response    celui qui a est   publi   sous le nom du Roy de France* (Antwerp, anon., 1635). KBH.



- *Les justes plaintes de l'Hollandois catholique et pacifique Sur les affaires du temps, & les guerres presentes* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM.
- *Relation veritable de ce qui s'est passé en la ville de Tillemont par l'armee Francoise et Hollandoise* (n.p., 1635). KBB, II 26340.
- *Relation concernant ce qu'il s'est passé tant en l'armee de nostre serenissime Prince Cardinal, qu'en celle des ennemis aupres de Louvain. Et particulierement de ce qu'est arrivé au siege de la mesme Ville, tant dehors que dedans* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM; KBB, II 26340 A.
- *La Prise Importante du Fort de Schenck, en l'Isle appelée Gravens-wert, Par les armes du Roy Catholique, soub la conduite du Serenissime Infant Cardinal, le 27 Juillet 1635* (Brussels, Widow Anthoon, 1635). BNP.
- Georges de Lausnoit, *Canticum Deo in Gratiarum actionem, et Applausus Almae Universitati Lovaniensi semper invictae, pro sua per Dei gratiam liberatione, 4 Julij, ab instanti excidij sui per haereticos Gallos & Batavos periculo* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1635).
- *Lettre de sa Mejesté Imperiale a son agent a Rome, contenant les raisons pour lesquelles il a fait la paix avec le Duc de Saxe M. DC. XXXV* (Brussels, Jean Pepermans, 1635). UBG, AM.
- *Advis de Lorraine arrivez par deux diverses expres le 3. & 4. d'Octobre 1635. en la Ville de Liege, & par autres lettres adressées à Monseigneur le Reverendissime Evesque de Gand. Touchant la deffaite de treize cens Gentils-hommes François en le Lorraine & autres particularitez* (Lille, Pierre de Rache, n.d. [1635], 'Jouxte la Copie Imprimée à Gand chez Servaes Manilius demeurant au Pingeon Blancq'). BNP, Lb36 3064; UBG, Meul 2331.
- [Matthieu de Morgues], *L'Ambassadeur chimerique ou le chercheur de duppes du Cardinal de Richelieu* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM.
- *Responce d'un bon vassal du Roy Catholique, aux manifestes publiez par le Roy de France, Touchant la Guerre par luy declarée contre la couronne d'Espagne. au mois de Juin de la presente année M. DC. XXXV* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM.
- *Scriptorum Galliae Maledicentiae et adulationes impiae. Prima pars continet maledicentias in praecipuos Europae Principes, eorumque Ministros. Secunda blasphemias in Deum, Angelos, & Summum Ecclesiae Pontificem. Tertia impias & sacrilegas Cardinalis Richelij laudes, cum magno Regis Regnique Galliae dedecore* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM.
- *Satyre d'Estat. Harangue faite par le Maistre du Bureau d'Adresse à Son Eminence le Cardinal de Richelieu et le remerciement dudict Sr. Cardinal. Jouxte la Copie Imprimé à Paris au Bureau d'adresse* (n.p.d. [1635]). UBG, AM.
- *Poema medico-politico-pathologicum ad Cardinalem de Richelieu et Patrem Josephum Capucinum Eminenitissimos Vineae Domini Sabaoth Demolitores. Accessit Indiculus de Breviario Cardinalis Richelieu, & somnio P. F. Josephi &c.*

- Impressum apud Schencken-Schans a regione Velaviae. Cum licentia Confusionis Batavicae* (n.p., 1635). UBG, AM.
- *La deffaitte de l'armee francoise soub la conduite du Cardinale de la Valette, au pays messin. Avec la prise de 19 canons, 800 chariots de baggage. Et autres particularitez des prosperitez de l'Empereur en Allemagne* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1635). PRO SP 121/42.
- *Retraicte des armees suesoises a Stralsont: reduction de la ville de Frankental: progres des vaisseaux de Dunkerke: disposition des armees imperiales: et autres nouvelles d'Angleterre & d'allieurs. M.DC. XXXV* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1635). PRO SP 121/44.
- 1636 Joos de Schepere, *Almanach van't Schrickel-jaer ons Heeren M.DC.XXXVI. Gemaect ende gecaluleert op den Meridiaen der vermaerde stadt van Gent met harre omliggende Provincien* (Ghent, Gerlach Graet, 1636). UBG.
- *Chronijcxken ende cort verhael vande Notabelste gheschiedenissen der Nederlanden zedert den Jaere 1500. tot desen teghenwoordighe Jaere toe* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens, n.d. [1636]).
- *Accordt in het overgaen vande stadt Meynts Met haere toebehoericheden, Besloten den 17. Decembris Anno M.DC.XXXV. Gedruckt naer de Franckfortsche Copije* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, 1636).
- Francisco de Quevedo, *Carta al Serenissimo, muy alto, y muy poderoso Luis XIII. Rey Christianissimo de Francia [...] en razon de las nefandas acciones, y sacrilegios execrables que cometió contra el derecho divino, y humano, en la Villa de Tillimon en Flandes, Mons. de Xatillon Ugonote, con el exercito descomulgado de Franceses Hereges* (Brussels, Hubert Antoon Velpius, 1636). UBG, AM.
- *Obsidionis oppidi Lovaniensis chronographica leonina pro memoriali fortunati M.DC.XXXV Affixa curiae Lovaniensi* (Antwerp, Jan Huyssens, 1636). KBH, Knuttel 4412a.
- *Copie de la declaration de guerre, contre la couronne de France. Faict en Espagne, au nom du Roy, par Don Juan Alonso Enriquez de Cabrera, Admiral de Castille, vice-Roy et Capitaine general du Royaume de Navarre, &c.* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1636). KBH, Knuttel 4404.
- *Copie d'une lettre de Cambray en datte du XVII. Juillet M.DC.XXXVI. ou se declare l'Estat et Progrez qu'a faict en France la Puissante Armee de nostre Cardinal Infante depuis la prise de La Chapelle jusques au XVII. du courant. Avec une autre adjointe en datte du 22. (n.p., 1636).* UBG, Meul. 2350.
- *Conference et Traicte du Sr Marquis de Lede, Avec ceux de Liege, & articles proposez au Conseil de la Cité dudict Liege le 20. d'Aoust 1636* (Liège, Christian Ouwerx, 1636). UBG, Meul. 2351.
- *Liste et specification pertinente des biens terres & Seigneuries. Ayans appartenu au Comte de Warfuzé, & confisquees au prouffit de Sa Majesté ayans esté saisis, &*

- mis en decret à l'instance des Crediters dudict Comte de Warfuzé, & dont la vente se fera au Conseil & Court Feodale de Brabant respectivement. Le iij. & vj. de Septembre 1636 & jours ensuyvans* (Brussels, Lucas van Meerbeeck, 1636). KBH, Knuttel 4412.
- *Nouvelles d'Italie d'Allemagne et des Pays-Bas dans lesquelles se voit l'estat des affaires presentes* (n.p. [Douai, Widow Wyon], 1636). UBG, Meul 2352.
- *Nouvelles tirees de plusieurs lettres, de Paris, de Luxembourg, d'Anvers, et de Cambray, Où se voit l'estat des affaires de France, d'Allemagne & des Pays-bas* (n.p. [Douai, Widow Wyon], 1636). UBG, Meul 2353.
- 1637 *Chronijcxken ende cort verhael Vande Notabelste gheschiedenissen der Nederlanden zedert den Jaere 1500. tot desen teghenwoordighe Jaere toe* (Antwerp, Jacob Mesens, 1637). SBA, K104244.
- *Relation particuliere et veritable envoyee de Ratisbone contenant ce qui c'est passe le 22. Decembre, de l'annee XXXVI. a l'election du Roy des Romains faite en la persone du Roy d'Hongrie Ferdinand III* (Brussels, François Vivien, [1637]). PRO SP 121/48.
- *Relation de la victoire obtenue par le General Jean de Wert, sur les Hollandois et Hessiens, qui marchioient en bataille au secours de la Fortresse de Hermesteyn* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4476.
- *Histoire Tragicque, ou Relation Veritable de tout ce qui se passa au Tragique Banquet Warfuzéen, tant de l'assassinat commis en la personne du feu le Seigneur Bourgemaistre De La Ruelle de glorieuse memoire, qu'attenté és personnes des Seigneurs Abbé de Mouzon estant en la Ville de Liege pour le service de Sa Majesté Tres Chrestienne, du Baron de Saizan & autres, par les Traistreuses menees du desloyal René Renest C. de Warfuzée: & de la vengeance vrayment divine ensuivie à l'instant, tant contre ledit desloyal meurtrier, que ses complices, le 16. d'Avril 1637. dedans ladite Cité de Liege, Extraicte des depositions mises en garde de Luy. Ensemble de plusieurs lettres, escrits, & signatures, trouvees, tant sur la personne dudit C. qu'ailleurs, qui s'en vont imprimés à la suite de cette Relation* (Liège, Christian Ouwerx, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4479.
- *En Conseil de la Cité de Liege tenu le 12. de May 1637. en la Sale haute* (Liège, Christian Ouwerx, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4485.
- *La Voix du Peuple Liegeois en response d'un certain Imprimé, fourré en cette Ville, par un traict d'habilité d'un Libraire de Cologne (comme on tient) portant le tiltre, & nom de l'Archevesque, Electeur de Coulogne, Evesque de Liege, &c.* (Liège, Christian Ouwerx, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4484.
- *Response a la Lettre Escrite par l'Infant d'Espagne, aux Bourguemaistres, Jurés, & Conseil de la Cité de Liege, le 27. May 1637* (Liège, Christian Ouwerx, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4486.
- *La Reduction des Villes de Venloo et de Ruremonde, a l'obeissance de sa Majeste Catholique, par le Serenissime Infant d'Espagne, Cardinal, ensemble la defaite de*

- l'Armée du Duc Weymar de Saxe pres de Straesbourg, par le Comte Jean de Weert, et d'un quartier de l'armee du Mareschal de Chastillon, par le Sieur de Longueval: comme par lettres de Munich du 26. Aoust: de Montmedy du 28. dudict mois, & du camp dedans Ruremonde, du 3. Septembre 1637* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1637). KBH, Knuttel 4500.
- 1638** *Relation de tout ce qui s'est passé au siege et prise de Breme, Par les Armes du Roy Catholique Philippe IV. sous la conduite du Marquis de Leganez, Gouverneur & Capitaine general pour S. M. en l'Estat de Milan, le 27. Mars, 1638* (Antwerp, Plantin office, 1638). KBH, Knuttel 4557.
- *Relation de ce qui s'est passé depuis la decente des Hollandois au Pays de Waes le 13. de Juin 1638. jusques au jour de leur retraite* (Antwerp, Godtgaf Verhulst, n.d. [1638]). KBH, Knuttel 4571a.
- *Den Victorieusen Lauwerocrans van Sijne Coninghl. Hoogheijdt Ferdinandus Infant van Spaignien, Verkreghe door de groote victorien in Vlaenderen, ende 't Landt van Waes* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, 1638). UBG.
- *Verhael vant notabelste datter gepasseert is inde belegeringe van S. Omer vanden eersten Julij, 1638 tot den 14 der selver, soo buyten de Stadt als binnen. Als wanneer die vanden Back ende van Sint Mommelin hen hebben overghegeven* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1638]). KBH, Knuttel 4556.
- *Cort verhael hoe vyf compagnien peerden van onse de des [sic] vyants Cavalerije binnen VVou den seven-en-twinstichsten deser overvallen hebben* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1638]). KBH, Knuttel 4573.
- *L'ataque et prise du quartier du Bacq, et fort de S. Moumelin sur les francois, & leur honteuse retraicte de devant Saint Omer, en Juillet 1638* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1638). UBG, AM.
- *Les derniers entretiens des Marechaux de France Chastillon et La Force Sur les Terres flottantes de S. Omer* ([Lille], Simon Le Francq, 1638). UBG, AM.
- *La ville de Gueldre assiegée par le Prince d'Orange, & delivrée par le secours du Serenissime Prince Don Fernande Infant d'Espagne, Le 26. Aoust, 1638.* (Brussels, Widow Velpius, n.d. [1638]). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.
- *Relation de la victoire obtenue par le Comte de Hatzfeldt, sur le Comte Palatin Charles Louys; & Kinge, commandant les troupes Suedoises, aux environs de la Ville de Lemgau en Westphalie* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1638). KBB, II 21425 A /d.
- 1639** *Le progrès des armées en Piedmont, depuis l'arrivée de S.A. le Prince Thomas de Savoye, Comme par lettre d'Ast du 3. de May 1639* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1639). KBH, Knuttel 4614.
- *Arrest du Grand Conseil du Roy, rendu contre le Comte d'Egmont. Le XV Juillet 1639* (Mechelen, Henry Jaye, 1639). PRO SP 121/24.
- *Arrest der Grooten Raede vanden Koninck ghegheven teghen den Grave van Egmont. Den xv. Julij. 1639* (Mechelen, Henry Jaye, 1639). KBH, Knuttel 4616.

- Antonius Gerardi, *Verhael vande Solemnele Feeste gedaen door zyne eminentie den Heere Cardinael Antonius Barberinus neve van onsen H. Vader den Paus Urbanus VIII ende Hooft der Finantien vande H. Kercke. inde Kercke van het Professen Huys der Societeyt JESU binnen Roomen Om de Goddelijcke Majesteyt te bedancken vande Societeyt bewaert te hebben in dese haere eerste eeuwe vanden 27 September 1540. als wanneer sy vanden Paus Paulus den III. alder eerst ontfangen ende bevesticht is geweest* (Brussels, Lucas van Meerbeeck, 1639). UBG, AM 1639(2).
- *Sommaire relation de la bataille de Tionville. Entre l'armee imperiale, commandee par son Excellence le Comte Piccolomini d'Arragon, gentil-homme de la chambre de sa Majeste imperiale. Et l'armee de France sous la commandement du Mareschal de Fayquieres le 7. du mois de Iuin 1639* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1639). PRO SP 121/50.
- 1640** Gabriel de la Vega, *Libro de la feliz vitoria del enquentro del reduto de Santa Ana* (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertssens, 1640). UBG, AM.
- 1641** *Chronijcsken ende kort verhael Van de Notabelste Gheschiedenissen, zedert het jaer 1500. tot dit teghenwoordigh jaere toe* (Antwerp, Widow Cnobbaert, 1641). SBA, K104244.
- *Relation de l'Heureux Succes que Dieu a Donne aux Armes Imperiales contre les Suedoises, Tirée des lettres du Comte Piccolomini, Duc d'Amalfi &c. à Son Altesse Royale, Datées à Retz le 22. de Mars 1641* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1641). UBG, Meul. 2529.
- *Le siege et heureuse delivrance de la ville d'Ivree en Piedmont* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1641). UBG, AM.
- [no title], 'Alsoo het landt van Artois ende Vlaenderen, grooten overlast was lijdende van de stedekens Lans ende Basse, by de Fransoisen ghefortificeert [...]' (n.p.d. [May 1641]). KBH, Knuttel 4722.
- *Viva-Spaignien oft Antwoorde op den eysch der Protestante Princen van Duytschlandt tot Regensporgh, Willende dat uyt alle Steden van Duytslandt alle Spaensche guarnisoenen soudē wech-ghenomen worden* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, 1641). KBH, Knuttel 4759.
- P. Foreri s.j., *Radelijcke bedenckinge, Waerom de Keyserl. Maj. noch den Vrede, noch oock de generale Amnistiam in geenderley wijze sal gelieven toe te staen, ofte hem laten wel gevallen, ende aen Ferdinando de III Keyserl. Majest. in Regensburgh voorghedraghen, mitsgaders de periculen des selven* (n.p., 1641). KBH, Knuttel 4760.
- *Copije van eenen Brief gheschreven den vijfden November, raeckende het overgaen van Arien* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1641]). KBH, Knuttel 4724.
- Pedro de Bivero s.j., *Carta consolatoria en la piadosa muerte del Señor Cardenal Infante al Señor Marques de Aytona* (n.p., 1641). BMB, Chiflet 78/246–249v.
- 1642** *Chronijcsken ende kort verhael van de notabelste gheschiedenissen, zedert het jaer 1500* (Antwerp, Widow Cnobbaert, 1642). SBA, K104244.

- *Illustrissimo ac excellentissimo domino D. Francisco de Mello* (Douai, Pierre Telu, 1642). ARB, DSS 81.
- *Relaes van het gheene datter ghepasseert is, den ses-en-twintichsten ditto des 'smorghens ten twee a dry uren, tot Bouchoute een mijle vande Philippine, tusschen den Heer Cantelmo, ende den vyandt* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1642]). KBH, Knuttel 4780.
- *Suite des succes de l'armée de Sa Majesté, sous le commandement & par ordre de Son Excellence Don Francisco de Melo Marquis de Tor de Laguna, Comte d'Assumar &c. Gouverneur & Capitaine general des Pays-bas & de Bourgongne. Dans le pays de Boulonois, & comtez d'Oye, & de Guines* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1642). KBH, Knuttel 4796.
- *Manifeste et articles que les Catholiques Confederez d'Irlande demandent en toute humilité au Serenissime Charles leur roy. Pour parvenir à une bonne voye d'accord* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1642). KBH, Knuttel 4866.
- *Ootmoedigh Request vande Leeck-Catholiquen, Recusanten van Engelandt, Aen de Eerwaerdige Ridders, Burgers ende Poorters van tLage-Huys, des Parlements, tegenwoordigh vergadert* (n.p.d. [1642]). UBG.
- 1643** *Rationes quibus demonstratur Galliam pacem nolle* (n.p.d. [1643?]). UBG, AM.
- *Raisons pour monstrer que la France ne veult point la paix* (n.p.d. [1643?]). UBG, AM.
- *Verhael van de Eliseeusche velden* (Antwerp, Jan Verhoeven, 1643). KBH, Knuttel 4903.
- *Discurso sobre la Importancia de La Guerra Maritima; o, Medio de abaxar el altivez de los Holandeses, Aprobado de Su Magestad, Y Empeçado a Poner por Obra Por el Excellentissimo Señor Don Francisco de Mello Marques de Tor de Laguna y Conde de Assumar, Gobernador y Capitan General de los Estados de Flandes y Borgoña, en la permission que Diò a los Vassallos de Dichos Estados de Formar Compañia de Corso. Juntamente Con algunos acuerdos muy utiles para facilitar el conseguimiento de lo que se pretende por estas armazones* (n.p.d.; preface signed Brussels, 22 March 1643). UBG, Meul. 2563.
- 1644** *Nouvelle Chronicque Contenant les choses plus memorables advenues en ces Pays-bas, depuis l'an 1500. jusques à l'an present* (Antwerp, Widow Cnobbaert, n.d. [1644]). SBA, K104244.
- *La défaite de l'armée de Portugal proche de Badaioz* (Brussels, 1644). Bod., 4° L 75(3) Art.
- *Pleines-puissances de Roy d'Espagne et du Roy de France pour le traité de la Paix Universelle a Munster Imprimees affin que le Monde cognoisse, par qui, & par quel moyen ledit traité a esté retardé jusques à present* (n.p., 1644). UBG, AM.
- 1645** *Historie oft Cort-verhael Van eenighe ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen van 't beghinsel des wereldts, tot desen teghenwoordighen Jaere toe* (Antwerp, Widow Cnobbaert, n.d. [1645]). SBA, K104244.

- *Relatie Van d'Executie van seker Pater Jesuit, die om de Catholique Religie, tot Londen in Engelandt ter doodt is gebracht. Mitsgaders: d'Executie, gedaen aen den Baron Macguire, Pair van Yrlandt* (n.p., 1645). UBG.
- *Relation des Particularités de la deffaitte de l'armée du Mareschal de Turrenne, par S.E. le baron de Mercy, Mareschal de Camp General de l'armée Imperiale de S.A. Monseigneur le Duc & Electeur de Baviere, le 5. jour de May 1645* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, n.d. [1645]). UBG.
- Melchior vanden Bossche, *Rycke armoede vercreghen door het inbrenghen van vremde lichte gheschroyde gelden, ende door het opdringhen van het Gout ende Silver gheslagen inde Munten van sijne Conincklijke Majesteyt, streckende tot gheheele verdruckinghe ende bederffnisse der ghemeynte. Verthoont aen het bedroeft Nederlant op dat door de vreesse van Godt, schroom vande sonde, liefde der rechtveerdicheyt ende onderdanicheyt aende wettighe Oversten, dit groot quaet mach belet ende uytgheroyt worden* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1645). UBG, AM.
- *Historie oft Cort-verhael van eenighe ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen* (Antwerp, Widow Cnobbaert, 1645). SBA, K104244.
- 1646** *Cort verhael vande Valsche Accusatie Ghedaen door den Vaendrager Charles Warnier, daer nae gheweest zijnde Capiteyn onder het Regiment vanden Heere Colonel Valtencheu, ende Adriaen de Clipple Sergeant, tegens de Heer Paul de Blake, ter dien tijdt hun-lieder Capiteyn, ende nu Sergeant Major van't Regiment van den Heere Meester de Camp de Stoppelaer, met de Sententie ende Vonnisse daer op ghevolght* (n.p.d. [Ghent?, 1646]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Corte Verclaringhe: Vande Conditien, Reglement ende Directie, raeckende de gewillige Contributie, die belooft is, ende noch te beloven staet, door de yverige ende getrouwe Inwoonders deser Stadt van Antwerpen, tot bescherminghe van de Apostolijcke Catholijcke Religie, ende dienst van sijne Majesteyt* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1646). KBH, Knuttel 5337.
- *Schrickelijcke Aertbevinghe Welcke gheweest is den vijfden April 1646 tot Livorno, by Pisa ende Florensien, in Italien* (n.p.d.). UBG.
- 1648** *Petitionis Gallicae de circulo burgundico a pace imperii excludendo, de que, ope ex imperio ei non ferenda, refutatio* (n.p., 1648). UBG, AM.
- *L'Acte Obligatoir; Qui esté donne par les Plenipotentiar du Roy d'Espagne, dans la ville de Munstre, le 30 de Janv. 1648. Verbintenis, Welcke is gegeven geweest van de Gevolmachtigde des Konincks van Hispanien, binnen de Stad Munster, den 30 Januari 1648. Alsmen teeckende ende sloot d'Eeuwige Vrede mette Heeren Staten van Hollant, etc.* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, 1648). UBG.
- *De Blyde Incomste van syne Doorluchtigste Hoogheyt den Aertsch-Hertogh Leopoldus Wilhelmus in de Stadt van Antwerpen. Met het ghene dat tot Sijner eeren aldaer ghedaen is* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, 1648). UBG.

- C. van Essen, *Antwerpsche Omme-gangh oft Lust-triumphe: Verthoonende het oudt wel-vaeren deser Hooghloffelijcker vermaerde Stadt, ende de hope tot weer-verquickinghe, door den ingaenden Vrede, door de Goddelijcke bermhertigheydt ghenadelijck verleent aen de t'samentlijcke Nederlanden, waerinne de selve Anno 1648. den 15. Mey, ghestelt zijn, waer op alhier de Publicatie solemmnelijck den 5. Junij ghecelebreert is* (Antwerp, Jacob van Ghelen, 1648). UBG, AM.
- *Tractaet van Peys tusschen syne Catholycke Maiesteyt, Ende de Staten Generael vande Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Brussels, Hubrecht Anthoon Velpius, 1648). ARB, DSS 82.
- *Lettre d'un religieux envoyee a Monseigneur le Prince de Condé a Saint Germain en Laye Contenant la verité de la vie & moeurs du Cardinal Mazarin. Avec exortation audit Seigneur Prince d'abandonner son party* (Valenciennes, Jean Boucher, 1648; 'Jouxta la Copie Imprimé à Paris'). UBG, AM.
- *Burgundische Protestatie tegens De Conditien van de Vrede, van het Rijk met Vranckrijck, Den Catholijcken Coninck schadelijck zijnde. Anno 1648* (n.p., 1648). UBG, Tiele 3256.
- 1649** *Raisons Pour lesquelles on n'a trouvé convenir, de publier au Diocese de Gand avec les solemnitez accoustumeés certaine Bulle, contre le livre du defunct Evesque d'Ipre Janssenius, Representees Par Monseigneur le Reverendiſime Evesque de Gand, au Conseil Privé de sa Majesté Catholique en Bruxelles, le 20. de Mars 1647* (n.p., 1649). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Rationes ob quas Illustrissimus Dominus Archiepisc. Mechlin. Belgii Primas &c. à promulgatione Bullae, qua proscribitur Liber cui titulus, Cornelii Jansenii Episcopi Iprensis, Augustinus, abstinuit: ex mandato Regio allegatae, ac Catholicae Majestati exhibitae, E Gallico in Latinum translatae* (n.p., 1649). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *'T Secreet Van de Engelsche Mis In het veroordeelen van Charles, Dies naems de eerste Koninck van Groot Britannien ende Yerlandt, Ontdeckt* (n.p., 1649). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *De Redenen, ofte Waerachtighe Mottiven Vande verschooninge des Parlaments ende d'Inwoonders van Parys, Teghens de Twist-maeckers in de ghemeyne Ruste, ende de Vyanden des Conincks ende Staets* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1649]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Raisonnement sur les affaires presentes de la France Et leur comparaison avec celles d'Angleterre* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, n.d.; 'jouxta la Copie imprimée a Paris Chez François Preuveray'). MPM, A2099.
- *Patricius Gallemart, Serenissimo Principi Archiduci Austriae, genere, pietate, armis augustissimo Leopoldo Austriaco* (Mons, Jean Havart, 1649). Bod., Antiq. e. B 1649/1.



- *Declaration faite sous le nom du Roy de France a S. Germain en Laye Contre la Cour de Parlement à Paris, le 6. Janvier 1649* (Antwerp, Martin Binnart, n.d. [1649]). UBG, AM.
- *Declaration sur le sujet et la forme de l'entree de son Altesse Imperiale en France; Et de sa retraite apres l'accomodement fit entre la Regence & le Parlement de Paris, avec les Princes & Seigneurs associés* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1649). UBG, AM.
- *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la feste de la gulde de S. Christophle a Bruxelles, solemnizée par le Roy d'icelle, Son Altesse le Duc de Lorraine, Le 24. de May 1649* (Brussels, Jean vanden Horicke, n.d. [1649]). KBB, II 85321.
- *Modelle ou project du feu d'artifice qui se doit faire a la Haye le Mardy 16. Nov. pour la rejouyssance sur le Mariage du Roy Catholique & la Serenissime Archiduchesse fille de l'Empereur* (Brussels, anon., 1649). UBG, AM.
- *Ambassade du Grand Turc au Roy Nostre Seigneur a Madrid* (Lille, Toussain Le Clercq, 1649). UBG, AM.
- 1650** *Manifeste des Commissaires d'Estat, du Royaume d'Escosse et Response a un Libelle Diffamatoire de Jacques Graham, Autrefois apellé Conte de Montrose. Contenant trois Calomnies. I. d'Avoir formé une Rebellion au Royaume d'Escosse. II. d'En avoir fomenté une semblable au Royaume d'Angleterre. III. d'Avoir vendu leur Roy aux Anglois, & despoüillé son Filz de tous ses droits* (Antwerp, anon., 1650). Bod., G.Pamph.1356(25); UBG.
- *Argument de la Feste qui se fera a S. Alt. Serenissime au Jeu de Paume Dimanche 27. de Febvrier 1650* (n.p.d. [1650]) UBG, AM.
- *Lettres envoiees par S.A. Serme. l'Archiduc Leopolde à Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans: Avec la Réponse de S.A. sur le sujet de la Paix generale d'entre les Couronnes d'Espagne & de France* (Brussels, Willem Scheybels, 1650). ARB, SSO 683.
- *Propositie Ghedaen by Syne Hoocheyt Den Prins van Oraignien Inde Vergaedinghe vande Ed. Mog. Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* (Antwerp, Willem Verdussen, n.d. [1650]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *d'Onstelde Amsterdammer, met Sijn trouwe waerschouwinghe, Raed en Antwoort op Bickers Beroerten. Eerste Deel* (Brussels, Symon Vermeer, 1650). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Hollants praatjen, Tusschen vier personen. Een Geldersman, een Hollander, een Vries, en een Brabander, Aangaande de Souverainteyt van Syn Hoogheyt, En tot Justificatie van de Ed. Mog. Heeren Staten van Hollandt, En de Achtbare Heeren Burgermeesters en Regeerders, der Stadt Amsterdam. Het Eerste Deel* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1650). KBB, uncatalogued; UBG, Tiele 3765.
- *Protest van den Brabander, Aen de Lesers Van't Hollands Praatje* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1650). UBG, Tiele 3777; KBB, uncatalogued.

- *Nootwendige Aenmerckinge Op een Fameus Libel, ghenaeamt de Bickerse Beroerte, Ofte den Hollantsen Eclipsis. Nevens een verdedinge van de heylige geunieerde Souveraineteyt. Gestelt door een Lief-hebber van de Vryheyt* (Antwerp, Jan van Waesbergen, 1650). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Cambray delivré du siege Par les faveurs de la tres-sainte Vierge Nostre Dame de Grace, et les armes de S.A.I. L'Archiduc Leopold de Guillaume le troisiéme juillet 1649* (n.p., 1650). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Serenissimo principi Leopoldo Wilhelmo Archiduci Austriae Duci Burgundiae, &c. Belgii & Burgundiae pro Rege Catholico Gubernatori, Dum inter Pacis Bellique curas, animo in Deiparam intentus, gentilitia pietate, Eidem Immacolatae Per Excellentissimum Comitem Isemburgicum Lapidem Templi Primarium anno M.DC.L. Iulii. XVI. Societari Jesu Lovaniensi Benevolus ponit, Societas eadem cum debita grati animi testificatione haereditariam Austriacas a Virgine Felicitatem* (n.p.d.). KBB, uncatalogued.
- 1651 *Abbrege des derniers mouvemens d'Angleterre* (Antwerp, 1651). Bod., 226 k. 406.
- Nicholas Aylmer, *Descriptio Regni Hiberniae, quam ejus nomine Serenissimo Principi Leopoldo Wilhelmo, Archiduci Austriae, Duci Burgundiae, &c. Belgii, & burgundiae, pro Rege Catholico Gubernatori, Ordinis Teutonici supremo Praefecto, &c. humiliter offert* (Leuven, Andreas Bouvetus, 1651). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Copia Libelli Supplicis Patris Rectoris Collegii Lovaniensis Societatis Jesu / Copia Litterarum Catholicae Suae Majestatis* (n.p.d. [1651]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Serenissimo Archiduci Leopoldo Strena. Anni M.DC.LI.* (Valenciennes, Jean Boucher, 1651). KBB, uncatalogued.
- L. Lancelotto, *Psittacatoblis Serenissimi Principis Leopoldi Guilelmi Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Burgundiae cataphractae cohortis Divi Georgij Bruxellis Regis auspiciatissimi. nono CaLenDas MaI. Centone Virgiliano secundum severissimam Ausonij regulam concinnata* (Brussels, Godefrid Schovarts, 1651). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Placcaet ons Heeren des Konincks, Nopende den Boeck van den Biscop Cornelius Jansenius ende andere Gheschriften ende Boecken, ghespecificeert in de Bulle van onsen Heylighen Vader den Paus Urbaen den VIII. van den 8. Martii 1642* (Ghent, Jan vanden Kerchove, 1651). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Placcart du Roy Nostre Sire, Touchant le livre de l'Evesque Cornille Jansenius & autres oeuvres & livres specifiez en la Bulle de nostre St Pere le Pape Urbain VIII. du 8. de Mars 1642* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon-Velpius, 1651). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Placcaet ons heeren des Conincx, Nopende den Boeck van den Bisschop Cornelius Jansenius ende andere Gheschriften ende Boecken, ghespecificeert in de Bulle van onsen heylighen Vader den Paus Urbaen den VIII. van den 8. Martij 1642* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1651). UBG, AM.

- *Relation de la Deffaite de 3. regiments de cavallerie de l'armée françoise dans le bourg d'Attini Sur Aine en Champagne, par quelques troupes de l'armée du Roi du Pais de Luxembourg, Le 29. du mois de Juillet 1651* (Brussels, Willem Scheybels, 1651) UBG, AM.
- *Reprise de la Ville de Berghe S. Winoc Par les Armées de Sa Majesté Catholique le 26. de Septembre 1651* (n.p. 'soubz les Halles' [Lille, Simon Le Francq], n.d. [1651]). BNP, Lk 7/13170.
- 1652** *Reduction de la Forte et tres-importante Ville de Gravelinghe a l'Obeysance de Sa Majesté Catholique, le 17. du mois de May de cest an 1652* (Lille, 'soubz les Halles' [Simon Le Francq], 1652). BNP, Lk 7/13171.
- *Kort verhael van 't ghene In de Belegheinghe van de stercke Stadt Grevelingen (Ende de verovering van deselve) is gepasseert, Onder het commandement van sijn Keyserl. Hoogheyt Ertz-Hertog Leopold* (n.p.d.; 'Na de Copye tot Antwerpen, by Guilliam Verdussen, 1652'). UBG, AM.
- *Den Hollandtschen Eclipsus, Voort-gekomen uyt een Kuylen-Burgh, Verscheenen Over de Provintie van Hollandt. Zijnde klare informatie ghenome by de Ed. Groot-Moog. Heeren Staten van Hollandt en West-Vrieslandt wegens het nemen van verscheide Giften en Gaven, tot de hoogste on-eer, dis-respect, schade en nadeel van't Landt: zijnde gepleeght by verscheide Heeren, hier na genomineert* (Antwerp, Jacques Marchan, 1652). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Verklaringhe der verbondene Catholijcke Yren, in wapenen voor 't Catholijcke Geloove tegens 't Parlement van Engelandt zijnde; met de namen der Bevelhebberen, welcke dese tegenwoordige Verklaringe hebben onderteekent* (n.p., 1652). UBG, Tiele 3971.
- 1653** *Chronijcke oft Verhael van de Notabelste gheschiedenissen van't beghinsel des Wereldts, tot desen tegenwoordighen Jaere toe* (Antwerp, Godtgef Verhulst, n.d. [1653]). SBA, K104244.
- *Sr Moreau, Panégryque a Son Altesse Serenissime l'Archiduc Leopold, sur son glorieux gouvernement des Pais-Bas* (Brussels, François Foppens, 1653). KBB, II 82963 A (6).
- *Versaminge Van de memorien ende klachten van den Ambassadeur van Spagnien aen de Staten Generael, Dien hy gedaen heeft in dit loopende Jaer 1653* (Antwerp, Jan van Linthout, 1653). UBG, AM.
- *Reduction de la Forte Ville de Rocroy, A l'obeissance de Sa Majesté Catholique, le premier d'Octobre de cest an 1653* (Lille, Simon le Francq, 1653). BNP, Lk 7/13175.
- 1654** *Articulen van den Vrede Voor altijds duerende tusschen den Alder-doorluchtighsten ende Hooghsten Heer Olivier, Heer Protecteur der Republijk van Enghelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, &c. ende De Hooghe ende Moghende Heeren Staeten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlandtsche Provintien ter ander zijde ghesloten* (Bruges, Alexander Michiels, 1654; 'Na de Copie van Londen'). UBG, AM.

- *Edict touchant les prests a faire, pour les necessités de l'estat et l'avancement de la paix* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1654). UBG, AM.
- *Reglement Provisioneel ende Additioneel aen de Ordonnantie Albertine Der Stadt van Antwerpen* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon-Velpius, 1654). KBB, uncatalogued.
- 1655 *Copie d'une lettre envoyee a Monsieur Waltenceu commandant en la Ville de Douay* (n.p.d. [1655]) UBG, AM.
- *De orden ende bedietsel van de solemnele processie tot de kercke van het professiehuys der Societeyt Jesu, binnen Antwerpen, den 25. Julij, 1655* (Antwerp, Martinus Verhulst, n.d. [1655]). UBG, AM.
- 1656 Mathieu Quester, *Prognostication op het Jaer 1656* (Antwerp, Hendrik Aertszoon, 1656) ARB, DSS 82.
- *Ordonnantie rakende de Vyf Gulden der Stadt Brussel, Ghepubliceert den 20. Decembris 1655* (Brussels, Martinus Bossuyt, 1656). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Verlossinge van Valencyn Door zijn Koningklijke Hoogheit D. Joan van Oostenrijk* (n.p., 1656). ARB, DSS 82.
- *La perte des francois au camp devant Valenciennes. Chronographes* (n.p.d. [1656]). MPM, A2099.
- *La Reprise de la Ville de Condé Par les armées de Sa Majesté Catholique sous le commandement de Son Altesse Royale Dom Jean d'Austriche le 17. Aoust, 1656* (Lille, Toussaint le Clercq, 1656. BNP, Lk 7/13173.
- *Pro Barone de Merode, Maximiliani Filio, comitissae d'Oestfrize haerede, Assertio Refutationis à Barone de Merode exhibitae adversus Scriptum pro Barone de Licques, Cui Titulus: Destructio Intitulatae Refutationis* (n.p., 1656).
- 1657 *Fransch Kroegh-praetjen, tusschen Pietje Vraeg-Al, Nieuwijsighe Peet, Pouwels Giet-leugen, en Simon Alber-neem* (Antwerp, anon., 1657). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Vertoogh aen De Heeren van t'Magistraet, ende andere Leden der Stadt Antwerpen, Door Die Provosten ende Gheswoorene van Sijne Ma[jesty]ts Munten in Brabant, Tot Bewys, Dat de selve, inghevolghe van hunne Privilegien, Concordaten ende vonnissen, niet en zijn tauxabel oft quotisabel, nopende de wijnen ende bieren gesleten wordende, soo binnen hunne huysen, als wel den Kelder vande Munte alhier* (n.p.d. [1657]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Joannes Mytenus, Ghislenopolis, fortissime celerrimeque Expugnata, Francisque violenter erepta per serenissimum principem Joannem Austriacum, M.DC.LVII. XXIII. Martii* (Brussels, Willem Scheybels, n.d. [1657]). KBB, uncatalogued.
- 1658 *Relation veritable de tout ce qui s'est passé à l'Entreprise des François sur la ville d'Ostende, le 14e de May 1658* (n.p., 1658). BNP.
- 1659 *Acten van Accommodement van de ongheregeltheden Veroorsaecht binnen der Stadt Antwerpen, door resistentien van de dekens ende ambachten Teghens*

- d'Executie van den Vonnisse by den Rade van Brabandt ghewesen op het stuck van de Posterye* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1659). UBG, Meul 3724.
- *Actes d'Accommodement des Desordres Causés en la Ville d'Anvers par la resistance des Doyens et Gens de Mestiers A l'Execution des Sentences renduës par le Conseil de Brabant sur le fait des Postes* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoon Velpius, 1659). KBB, uncatalogued.
- *Copie van het Reglement Politijck, Raeckende de Stadt van Antwerpen, In date dry-en-twintighsten October, seshien-hondert ende neghen-en-vijftigh* (n.p.d. [1659]). KBB, uncatalogued.

### Newspapers

arranged chronologically by place of publication.

#### Amsterdam

- Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c.* (Van Hilten), 1628–1664. KBS; ARB.
- Extraordinaire Advijzen op Donderdag* (Van Hilten), 1644. ZBZ; KBS.
- Tijdingen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* (Broer Jansz.), 1623. Facs. F. Dahl, *Dutch Corantos*.
- Tijdingen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* (Broer Jansz.), 1629–1659. KBS.
- Nouvelles de divers Quartiers* (Broer Jansz.), 1636. ARB.
- Ordinaris Dinghs-daeghs Courante* (Joost Broersz.), 1646. ZBZ.
- Ordinaris Dinghs-daeghs Courante* (Joost Broersz.), 1649–1652. KBS.
- Europische Saterdaegh Courant* (Mathijs van Meininga), 1644. ZBZ.
- Euroopsche Donderdaegs Courant* (Mathijs van Meininga), 1645. ZBZ.

#### Antwerp

- Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (Abraham Verhoeven), 1620–1621. BLL.
- Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (Abraham Verhoeven), 1622–1629. KBB.
- Wekelijcke Tijdinghen* (Abraham Verhoeven), 1629–1631. KBB (microfilm).
- Courante uyt Duytschlandt, &c.* (Abraham Verhoeven), 1632–1634. KBS.
- Extraordinarisse Post-tijdinghe* (Willem Verdussen), 1635–1649. SBB; KBS; BMP.
- Le Postillion ordinaire* (Martin Binnart), 1639. BMP.
- Den Ordinarissen Postilioen* (Martin Binnart), 1639–1646. BMP; SBB; KBS.
- Dijnsdaghsche Ordinarissche Antwerpsche Post-tijdinghe* (Jacobus Bodt for the heirs of Martin Binnart), 1678. ARB.

*Berlin*

*Avisen auß Berlin* (Christoph Frischmann), 1617. KBS

*Avisen auß Berlin* (Widow Frischmann), 1618–1628. KBS

*Bruges*

*Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheide gewesten* (Nicolaas Breyghel), 1637–1645. SBB.

*Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheide gewesten* (Nicolaas Breyghel), 1654. Bod.

*Brussels*

*Courier véritable des Pays-bas* (printed by Jan Mommaert and sold by Guillaume Hacquebaud [for Pierre Hugonet]), 1649. KBB.

*Courier véritable des Pays-bas* (printed by Goddefroy Schoovaerdt and sold by Guillaume Hacquebaud [for Pierre Hugonet]), 1649. KBB.

*Courier véritable des Pays-bas* (printed by Willem Scheybels and sold by Guillaume Hacquebaud [for Pierre Hugonet]), 1649–1650. KBB.

*Relations véritables* (printed by Willem Scheybels and sold by Guillaume Hacquebaud [for Pierre Hugonet]), 1650–1659. KBB.

*Danzig*

*Dingstags Particular*, 1657–1659. KBS.

*Freytags Particular*, 1657–1658. KBS.

*Sonnabends Particular*, 1656–1658. KBS.

*Frankfurt*

untitled (Johann von den Birghden), 1617–1621. KBS.

*Unvergeiffliche Postzeitungen* (Johann von den Birghden), 1622. KBS.

*Wochentliche Zeitung* (Johann von den Birghden), 1623. SHD, KBS.

*Genoa*

*Gazzetta di Genova* (Giovanni Maria Farroni), 1643–1645. ZBZ.

*The Hague*

*Le Mercure Anglois* (Samuel Brown), 1649. UBG.

*Wekelycke Nieuws* (Adriaen Vlacq), 1653. KBB.

*Hamburg*

*Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Paul Lange for Johann Meyer), 1619–1630. KBS.

*Wochentliche Zeitung* (Johann Meyer), 1631–1632; 1644–1645. KBS.

*Leipzig*

*Wöchentliche Zeitung*, 1644–1645. KBS.

*Einkommende Zeitungen*, 1650. KBS.

*London*

*Weekly Newes* (Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, Thomas Archer, William Sheffard & Bartholomew Downes). 1622–1623. STC microfilm; Bod.

*?Luzern*

*Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (?David Hautt), 1644–1646. ZBZ.

*Milan*

*Gazzetta di Milano* (Malatesta brothers), 1642–1645. ZBZ.

*Munich*

*Mercurij Ordinari Zeitung*, 1631. KBS; BBM microfilm.

*Stettin*

*Europaeische Zeitung*, 1656. KBS.

### *Strasbourg*

*Relation aller Fürnemen und Gedenkwürdigen Historien* (Johann Carolus), 1621–1634. ZBZ

*Relation aller Fürnemen und Gedenkwürdigen Historien* (Moritz Carolus), 1634–1649. ZBZ

### *Utrecht*

*Ordinaire Europäische Courant* (Gerard Lodewijk van der Macht, alias Anthony Benedicti), 1659. KBB.

### *Vienna*

*Ordinari Zeitung*, 1626–1642. RBV.

*Ordinari Reichs Zeitungen*, 1650–1653. RBV.

### *Zürich*

*Neue Unpartheysche Zeitung und Relation* (Johann Rudolf Wolf / Johannes Hardmayer), 1623. ZBZ.

*Neue Unpartheysche Zeitung unnd Relation* (Hans Jakob Bodmer), 1633. ZBZ

*Ordinari-Wochen-Zeitung* (?Widow Bodmer or Bodmer heirs), 1636–1638. ZBZ.

*Wochentliche Ordinari Zeitung* (?Widow Bodmer or Bodmer heirs), 1644–1646. ZBZ.

*Ordinari Wochenzeitung* (Bodmer heirs), 1655–1658. ZBZ.

### **Other Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Publications**

*Acta, Acta Ratisbonensia, Inter invictissimum gloriosissimumque Imperatorem Ferdinandem II. et Sacri Romani Imperii Electores aliosque imperii ordines in celeberrimo conventu Ratisbonensi, Anno 1622. & 23. celebrato, agitata* (n.p., 1623). Bod.

*Acts, The Acts of the Diet of Regenspurg: Held in the yeeres 1622 and 1623* (London, Nathaniel Butter, 1623). Bod.

Anselmo, Antonio, *Commentaria ad perpetuum edictum serenissimorum Belgii principum Alberti et Isabellae* (Antwerp: Petrus Bellerus, 1664).

*Arrest, Arrest de la Cour de Parlement du 12. Decembre 1650. Donné en faveur des Messagers de l'Université de Paris, & pour le Messenger de la Ville de Reims, en*



- execution des Arrests precedents pour les Villes de Beauvais, Troyes Mascon, du Mans, Laval, & Coignac. Contre les Maistres des Courriers, Postes & Relais de France. Portant defenses d'establir leurs Bureaux ailleurs que sur les Routes ordinaires des Generalitez, & non pas dans lesdites Villes, ny y faire aucune fonction de Postes* (Paris, P. Charpentier, n.d. [1650/51]). KBB.
- Avis, *Avis des-interessé aux habitans des Pais-bas, qui sont sous la domination du Roy d'Espagne* (n.p.d. [France, 1644]). Google Books.
- Avvisi, *Avvisi della Cina et Giapone, del fine dell' anno 1586. Con l'arrivo delli Signori Giaponesi nell'India. Cavati dalle lettere della Compagnia di Giesù, Ricevute il mese d'Ottobre 1588* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1588).
- Belgick, *The Belgick Souldier* (Dordrecht, 1624). KBH.
- Bernartius, Johannes, *De Lirani Oppidi ab Hollandis occupati, per Mechlinianos et Antverpianos admirabili liberatione commentariolus. Una cum brevi narratione de Origine & progressu calamitatum Belgii. Editio secunda* (Leuven, Jan Maes, 1596). KBH, Knuttel 940.
- Bochius, Joannes, *Historica narratio projectionis et inaugurationis serenissimorum Belgii principum Alberti et Isabellae* (Antwerp, 1602). Bod.
- Bonours, Christophle de, *Le Memorable Siege d'Ostende, decrit, et divisé en douze livres* (Brussels, Jan van Meerbeeck, 1628). Bod.
- Chiflet, Jean, *Palmae Cleri Anglicani, seu Breves narrationes eorum, quae in Anglia contigerunt circa mortem, quam pro Religione Catholica VII. Sacerdotes Angli fortiter oppetièrunt* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1645). KU Leuven.
- Chifflet, Jean-Jacques, *De causis naturalibus pluviae purpurae* (Brussels, 1648).
- Codogno, Ottavio, *Nuovo itinerario delle Poste per tutto il Mondo. Aggiuntovi il modo di scrivere à tutte le parti. Utilissimo non solo à Segretarij, ma à Religiosi, & à Mercanti* (Venice, Lucio Spineda, 1620). Consulted on Google Books.
- , *Compendio delle Poste. Dichiaratione dell'Origine, & Carico delli Maestri Generali delle Poste, & suoi dependenti* (Milan, Gio. Battista Bidelli, 1623). Consulted on Google Books.
- Conde, J. de, & Jan Mommaert (eds.), *Costuymen ende Rechten der Stadt Brussel* (Brussels, Jan Mommaert, 1657). Bod.
- Declaration, *A Declaration of the causes Moving the Queenes Majestie of England, to prepare and send a Navy to the Seas, for the defence of her Realmes against the King of Spaines Forces* (London, Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1596). Bod.
- Fitzherbert, Thomas, *The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy and Religion* (2nd ed., 1615; facsimile reprint English Recusant Literature 175; 1974).
- Fonseca, Antonio A, *De Epidemia febrili grassante in Exercitu Regis Catholici in inferiori Palatinatu Anno 1620 & 21. Tractatus, in quo febris malignae essentia, causae, signa diagnostica, & prognostica, & methodus curativa Philosophice & Medice elucidantur* (Mechelen, Henry Jaye, 1623). Bod.

- Fuertes y Biota, Antonio de, *Anti-manifiesto o verdadera declaración del derecho de los señores reyes de Castilla a Portugal* (Bruges, Nicolaas Breyghel, 1643). ARB, DSS 82.
- Gee, John, *Foot out of the Snare* (1624), edited by T.H.B.M. Harmsen (Nijmegen, 1992).
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# Index

This index was compiled with the assistance of Catherine and Isabel Arblaster. Entries provide very basic information about the people, places and events mentioned in the text, so that besides being a finding aid it can also be used for rudimentary reference or as a basic gazetteer.

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